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ABSTRACT

This book is a compilation of the edited versions of a representative selection of papers on school and community presented at a European conference involving more than twenty countries. The papers are arranged in three sections. The first section of six papers lays the framework for the discussion which follows. Section 2, comprised of six papers covering participation and educational decision making, concentrates on school and community relationships, particularly the involvement of community groups in the management and curricular definition of schools. The last section includes four papers on school and work which focus on ways in which the school and its offerings relate both to earning a living and to contributing to existing and future patterns of production and service. Some representative titles from each of the three sections respectively are (1) "The Challenge of School and Community and Whether or Not to Accept It", and "The Community as Educator: The Italian Case," (2) "Local, Regional and National Participation in Educational Policy Decision-Making and School Administration," and "Participants in Educational Policy Making: Some Aspects of Legitimacy," and (3) "School and Work: The Problem as It Affects Girls" and "Education and Work: Reforms in Danish Vocational Training." A list of the more than thirty papers presented at the conference concludes this book. (EM)

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Proceedings of the
Comparative Education Society in Europe

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

Containing selected papers read before the Society at its Seventh General Meeting

Sèvres 1975

Edited on behalf of the Society by
Raymond Ryba and Denis Kallen

The Comparative Education Society in Europe

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INTRODUCTION

The Seventh General Meeting of the Comparative Education Society in Europe, held at Sèvres in June 1975, was one of the most successful meetings so far held by the Society. More than thirty papers were presented by participants from more than twenty countries, and the quality of the material presented and of the discussion which it stimulated was particularly high.

This volume offers edited versions of a representative selection of the conference papers, together with a complete list of the papers accepted for presentation by the organising committee. Regrettably, given the large number of papers presented, selection has been a necessary if invidious task. Some papers have appeared or will appear elsewhere and have therefore been excluded on these grounds. Others, no less worthy of publication, have had to be excluded simply on grounds of cost. Even so, this volume of the Proceedings remains among the largest so far produced by the Society.

School and Community, the theme of the conference and of this volume, is an obviously important one. It is also a currently fashionable one, with all that this implies, both for good and for ill: it benefits from justified attention and appreciation; but, at the same time, it suffers from oversimplification and uncritical acceptance.

The comparative context in which the papers included in this volume were presented, highlighted and illustrated a degree of complexity in the notion of 'School and Community' which is apparently unsuspected by the authors of much recent writing which has appeared on this theme. General approval of the desirability of a better understanding of the relationships involved and of the utilisation of that understanding to the benefit of both school and community has clearly not blinded the contributors to this volume to the major and intricate problems which such objectives raise. Moreover the totality of the papers points up the importance of diversity of context, not only in the nature of existing relationships but also in their value, not only in the implementation of policies but also in their formulation and selection.

For the purposes of this volume, the papers selected have been re-arranged in three sections:

1. The Framework for Discussion
2. Participation in Educational Decision-making
3. School and Work

The papers in the first of these sections lay a ground plan, in historical and comparative terms, for the more detailed discussion which follows. What are the relationships between school and community? What should they become? How has the present concern for these relationships come about? How does it fit in to the general pattern of current thought about education and about the community? What kinds of school are most appropriate in different circumstances? What schooling should they offer, taking account of different objectives and of different notions of the school - community relationship? And what notions of that relationship are most relevant to current situations? These are some of the main questions which this section seeks to explore.

Section II, on 'Participation and Educational Decision-making', concentrates

its attention on that major dimension of the school-community relationship which is concerned with the involvement or potential involvement in the management and definition of schools and schooling of the various interest groups which organise, use, serve, or are served by the school. Here the major questions examined include the legitimacy of participation, the nature and problems of different models of participatory involvement, the main fields of participation, including those of control, administration and curricular definition, and the actual and potential roles of central and local government, teachers, parents, representatives of the community and of industry, and the pupils themselves. The organisation and presentation of this section owes much to the work of Professor Oskar Anweiler of Bochum, not only for his painstaking efforts in assembling the contributions included but also for his incisive introduction to the section. The Editors are much indebted to him.

The final section, on 'School and Work' similarly owes much of its form and substance to Dr. Nigel Grant of Edinburgh, whose own contribution opens the section. Here the focus shifts to the ways in which the school itself and what it can offer relate both to the individual business of earning a living and to the corporate function of contributing to existing and future patterns of production and service. Major questions tackled in this section are concerned particularly with the nature and definition of the relationships between school and work, both as they are at present and as they should be. Aspects taken up in more detail include the question of vocational versus general education, the differential needs of girls, as opposed to boys, and the specific relationships between education, work, and the community in different environments.

No introduction to this volume would be complete without acknowledgement of the debt owed by the Society as a whole and by the Editors in particular to the various bodies and individuals who made possible and contributed to the success of the conference of which this volume is the record. In particular, our thanks are due to M. Jean Auba, Director of the Centre International d'Etudes Pédagogiques, Sèvres, and to the French Authorities, for putting the Centre at the disposal of the Society. Thanks are also due to the Staff of the Centre for all their help before, during, and after the conference, and to the organising committee of the Society for its work in preparing the ground so well. A special word of thanks must go to Professors Anweiler (Bochum) and Borghi (Florence) and Dr. Grant (Edinburgh) for their admirable work in inviting and organising the contributions made to the main sections of the conference theme. Finally, as Editors, we should like to thank individual contributors for their willing and careful help in preparing the final manuscript of these Proceedings.

Raymond Ryba

Denis Kallen

December 1976

II THE FRAMEWORK OF DISCUSSION

1. SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY: OPENING ADDRESS

Brian Holmes (President) (London)

The theme of our conference, School and Community, is broad and generous in conception. It is the first time that the Society has deliberately focused attention on relationships between schools and the socio-economic and political milieux in which they function. The response by members to the committee's invitation for papers suggests that aspects of our theme are occupying the minds of many comparative educationists. This is hardly surprising. After a period when it seemed that the steady expansion of educational provision was assured and that its benefits would be real and obvious, the future of education and the contribution it can make to social betterment now seem less certain and secure. The hopes for society which found expression in the UN declaration of human rights and which have informed the work of Unesco and government policies all over the world for more than a quarter of a century have, at least for the moment, faded. What are the constituents of the problems we as educationists face? Clues may be found by examining educational and social change since the late forties.

Since that time attempts have been made to extend education to all as a human right. Only against over ambitious hopes such as those expressed in the Indian Constitution and at the Karachi conference can it be said that policies to universalise primary education in countries where previously little existed have failed. More and more children all over the world attend primary schools. In those countries of Europe which, by the forties, were already providing primary education for all, admission to secondary schools has overtly depended less and less on ability to pay and more and more on ability to benefit. In these countries policies to re-organise secondary education along comprehensive lines have been pursued with varying degrees of vigour. Rapid expansion of higher, including university, education, as a human right controlled largely by student demand and faculty power took place in the fifties in the USA, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, and in India. When Frank Bowles published his study on Access to Higher Education he was able to show that the proportion of young people in higher education was related to the structure of secondary education. As expansion gathered momentum in the sixties growth rates seemed less dependent than before on the proportion of students in comprehensive or one track secondary schools. Expansion in France was greater than in Britain. After a slow start numbers in Canada and Australia grew rapidly. The Swedish example, however suggests that reorganisation of secondary education does influence higher education.

In short the quantitative expansion of education between 1945 and 1968 has been impressive. The desirability of providing education to all, increasing the period of compulsory attendance and expanding higher and adult education was not seriously questioned by right or left wing governments. Indeed the proportion of revenue spent on education rose steadily in most countries. Expansion has been a central feature of national and indeed international policy. Political considerations played a major role in the adoption of such policies in most countries. They were supported by belief and by social science evidence. When Unesco was being established in 1945-46 some participants at those early meetings held that universal education would safeguard peace and democracy and raise standards of living. Proposals to provide secondary education for all were based on the belief that social

class differences would be reduced. Evidence from the USA showed how access to education was related to the social class position of pupils and students. In Britain and elsewhere similar evidence was produced. Sociologists went on to support proposals to re-organise secondary education on the grounds that opportunities would be equalised. Later economists joined in. They supported expansion as an investment which would benefit individuals and society, arguing first that the universalisation of primary education should receive priority and then that selective investment in the higher stages of education would give greater returns. There can be no doubt that sociological and economic arguments reinforced political considerations in favour of educational expansion. Politicians claimed that education should be provided as a human right. Sociologists and economists stressed its instrumental value. Many educationists were probably more concerned about the intrinsic value of education. And in the final analysis it is they who have controlled, either by veto or by positive action, the ways in which education has expanded during the last thirty years. The consequences of expanding education ostensibly in the interests of society yet largely under the control of educationists should be examined in comparative perspective in much the same ways as revisionist historians in the USA have done.

Shifts in policy may be explained by suggesting that while expansion has been pursued almost without question by governments in the face of popular demand and public acquiescence, educationists have fought with some success to retain control over the way resources have been allocated, over the admission of pupils and students, over the content of education and methods of teaching and over labelling procedures based on examinations. In the face of political pressures to eliminate or postpone selection at the point of transfer from primary to secondary education educationists have made concessions. In their hands guidance and counselling procedures have allowed them to influence the allocation of students within the education system. Political pressure to change curricula has been less obvious except perhaps in the USA since the early 1950s and in the USSR around 1958. Against the opposition of teachers it has been relatively ineffective. In the USA the battle for curriculum control has been between university academics and educationists. A similar battle is likely to be waged in England if the Black and Red papers are valid indicators. A close study of reforms advocated by teachers may reveal that overtly or covertly they ensure that power remains in their own hands. An overt example of how constraints are placed on curriculum research is the English Schools' Council whose membership and terms of reference ensure that practising teachers retain their traditional power to determine curricula. Emphasis on new methods of teaching based for example on student participation and activity or on individualised learning may covertly ensure that teachers are still in a position to regulate rates of learning and what is learned. In so far as school examinations serve an allocation function and are administered by educators the latter decide who should enter an institution for higher education, who should go into industry (and at what level), and who should embark upon a political career. English CSE procedures and continuous assessment do not weaken the position of teachers. Far from sharing power teachers, when they have not abdicated, have consolidated their position while advocating reform and while supporting policies of educational expansion. Government attempts in France and Britain in the mid-sixties to regulate university expansion by creating new technological institutions of higher education is a case in point. The battle for control of the Swedish universities is, in my judgement, by no means over. A

danger is that, frustrated by attempts to control schools, politicians and industrialists (and even military leaders) will support alternative institutions more amenable to their wishes. On the other hand when teachers find that they have lost control, either to students, parents, or politicians, they may well abdicate, leaving the field clear for other groups. I suggest that this situation has been reached in some inner city schools, for example, in New York and London. This brief analysis is intended to raise questions rather than to provide answers because we have been inclined as educationists to claim credit for successes and to blame others for failures over this period of educational expansion.

On the other side of the equation namely socio-economic and political change - a final assessment of events over the last thirty years is difficult to make. We can point to the fact that millions of people have gained independence from foreign rule. Or has economic imperialism replaced political imperialism? Moreover there is not much evidence to suggest that revolutions effectively distributed power widely. There is some reason to suppose that they have transferred power from one political elite to another. And while the threat of total war has been reduced by nuclear deterrents it would be unwise to assume that these have ruled out war as a possible extension of political action.

As for economic change standards of living have been raised if the output and purchase of consumer goods are taken as indicators of affluence. But how has wealth been distributed inside countries and between nations? Some individuals and nations have become very wealthy at the expense of others who, while improving their standards of life, remain relatively worse off. The application of science in industry and commerce has made possible this kind of affluent society. Some of the macroconsequences of economic growth have been predicted in the second report to the Club of Rome. It suggests that undifferentiated economic growth will lead to the exhaustion within the forseeable future of known resources on which industries depend. Again the efficient use of machines places limits on the number of persons who can be usefully employed. An optimistic view of this fact suggests that we shall all have more leisure to enjoy. Pessimists point out that unemployment must inevitably rise. Parenthetically it may be useless to send young people out to work at an early age however difficult it is to keep them happily in school.

Looking now at the impact of economic growth on individuals, factories are larger, industry is concentrated in conurbations. Some skills are more complex, the acquisition of them demanding long periods of training. Many more jobs are simpler and more repetitive. Conveyor belts dominate production schedules and the speed at which men and women work and the kinds of job they perform. The mechanisation of agriculture means that subsistence economies are no longer of themselves viable. The mechanics of distributing even the essentials for life more widely are not adequately developed. The concentration of industry and commerce in particular countries and areas inside them and the introduction of industrial techniques into agriculture have contributed to the growth of conurbations. Several types of person flock into them. Ambitious, well educated young men and women leave small towns for the city in search of better jobs. They settle in the more favoured parts or by rehabilitating slums bring their new environment under a measure of control. At the other end of the continuum are those for whom rural life is intolerable and the attractions of the city, whether at home or abroad, compelling. Father or energetic

son leaves the village to find paid work in the hope that he can send some money home. He may return to his village from time to time and for short periods. Away from home he moves into a shanty town on the periphery of the city or into its decaying centre. His family may or may not follow him. In most cases he has neither the economic nor political power to control his environment. Public services may be non-existent or in the old city inadequate and houses are over-crowded. Jobs, even the most menial, are difficult to come by. Thus in most big cities of the world great wealth and extreme poverty co-exist.

Since 1945 social change has eliminated some divisions in society and created new ones. The balance of political power in the world has shifted, with the USA and USSR as superpowers. Old alliances such as those based on empire have been replaced by new ones. The economic unification of Western Europe and the Organisation of African states are examples of emerging alliances. Attempts to create effective world-wide international organisations have been slow and painful. They have not succeeded in eliminating tension or conflict. Economic growth has not everywhere been accompanied by economic development. The wealthy have become wealthier, the poor relatively poorer. Oil, a relatively easily exploited natural resource, has transformed some poor countries into immensely wealthy ones but not everyone in those countries have benefited from the new found wealth. And the changed position of the oil rich nations has created new economic and political problems. Yet small and large nations are so much part of a network of relationships that no one of them can claim to be fully independent. At another level the differences between rural or village life and city or conurbation living have increased in spite of the transformations brought about by semi-conductors and air travel. The interests of the small community have become more and more subservient to, yet dependent upon, the larger society. It is often assumed that a society is no more than a collection of communities and that there need be no conflict of interest between community and society. It may well be that the quantitative changes which transform communities into societies imply major qualitative changes. Educationists may have failed to respond to this challenge. The schools remain rural or at best small town institutions and perpetuate, where they succeed, traditional value systems. As institutions, the schools may have served earlier communities well. It is doubtful whether in their present form they can serve post-industrial societies in which rather few institutions have survived in their original form.

Let me illustrate my meaning. Elitist education was intended to serve small compact communities in which men were not regarded as equal, in which the authority of a person was sustained by his esoteric knowledge, or by his economic or military power. Competition, except among political leaders, was reduced to a minimum. Schools had special functions to perform. They provided future leaders (whether political or non-political) with appropriate knowledge. They fostered leadership attitudes. When new concepts of democracy were formulated the schools were expected to select out an aristocracy of talent. Neither Condorcet nor Jefferson thought all men were intellectually equal and were consequently able to justify selective secondary schools and universities. During the nineteenth century, as rural communities changed to industrial societies, the schools were given new tasks. They were expected to prepare young people for industry and commerce. Policies differed. Some countries introduced special technical and business schools. These are part of the north European tradition

exemplified in the Beruf and Fach schulen of Germany, the technical colleges and apprentice centres in France, and the range of technical schools in the Netherlands. This policy was rejected in the USA and Britain towards the end of the century. General education dominated the schools. In England industry and professional associations trained their recruits. In the USA after 1900 the institutions of higher education trained more and more young people for a range of professions.

In most countries general education was dominated by humanistic traditions and in many countries until recently by Christian beliefs. The values it inculcated were those which had admirably served communities where face-to-face relationships in politics economic and social life dominated institutions established in pre-industrial societies. As long as these socio-economic and economic institutions survived the schools could function well. Periods of rapid change create major crises. Such a period occurred in the USA. The constituents of rapid change are well illustrated in the growth of Chicago around the turn of the century. In that situation John Dewey proposed a solution to the problems of society namely that as the traditional community disappeared under the forces of industrialisation, commercialism and urban growth the schools should take its place. This might be called 'the school as community' solution to societal problems. Since it commands considerable support the role Dewey gave to the school should be seen in context. Chicago, it should be remembered grew at a fantastic rate after about 1870 so that by 1910 it had a population of over two million. It became the greatest railway centre of the USA (and later was an early centre for air transport) and a major inland port. Iron ore, coal, coke, and limestone were carried from railway termini to the industrial plants on the south shore of Lake Michigan. Grain elevators, coal yards, and warehouses as well as meat packing factories contributed to its growth as a major trading centre. Iron, steel, and many other products, including cement, were made in its factories. It never became a major financial centre - either domestic or international. This growth pattern is outlined because we depend so much today on the work of sociologists who studied the processes of urbanisation in Chicago and the problems they created. Today similar problems loom large in south east England, the Ruhr, Tokyo and other major conurbations. In the midst of turmoil Dewey reluctantly accepted industrialisation and commercialisation but gave to the schools the task of perpetuating those small-town or rural values which he had acquired as a boy in Vermont. The educative experiences he treasured were based on the day to day activities of craftsman, store-keeper, local politician, and school teacher working together in a small frontier community. Industrial society could not provide them. City schools should therefore provide children with these experiences to solve their own problems and to co-operate with others in solving society's problems. The development of intelligence, like reason and rationality before it, through education was the key to success. The school was also to perpetuate the virtues of pioneering rural America. In short, in an industrial society the school was to become in effect the community and take on all its educative functions. Faith in formal education has persisted. It has been given more and more tasks to perform. In the USA, in the face of economic depression, mass unemployment and rising crime rates education, under Roosevelt's New Deal, was to keep people off the streets and out of the labour market. The Civilian Conservation Corps enabled unemployed out-of-school youth to participate in educative experiences out of class. National Youth Authority work projects provided many with enough money to stay in

school or in college. Some progressive educationists tried to make the schools agents of social reconstruction and urged the New Dealers to become interventionists. These movements were associated with attempts to make the content of education more relevant to the needs of youth. The authors of the Eight Year Study (1932-1940) set out to prove that the high school curriculum could be liberated from the constraints of college entrance without lowering college and university standards. Few educators concede that the radical reform of education necessarily implies that former standards of academic excellence should be abandoned. Thus, in the fifties, under different circumstances the schools of America were blamed for failing to cherish gifted children and thus to protect the USA from the challenge of Soviet technological supremacy. And again in the sixties it was hoped they would ameliorate disadvantage by providing compensatory education so that levels of achievement could be raised.

Elsewhere educationists have seen the school as a community in which children learn to participate in community life by participating in appropriate activities. Many protagonists of the school as a community held that its vocational activities should constitute the core of its work. Gandhi's Wardha scheme, for example, which became national policy as Basic Education in Independent India, made village crafts the foundation on which a general education should be built. In 1937 Gandhi assumed that the British would remain in India for some time and that since industrialisation would take place slowly policy should be directed to the improvement of village life. Fundamental education proposed by Unesco as an experiment in community development was based upon similar assumptions. Present policy in Tanzania derives from the view that economic development depends more on improving a subsistence economy than on rapid industrialisation. It is a policy which has received considerable attention by planners who draw a sharp distinction between social-economic development and undifferentiated economic growth.

Dewey's solution was, however, intended to solve the problems in an industrial society undergoing rapid change. It is doubtful whether it will work without effective community support. Can a 'rural' institution survive and function successfully in a hostile environment? Moreover can pupils educated in a small community move easily into an adult society which is not informed by community values and run on the basis of community institutions? Can community schools prepare young people for life in society? Only, in my judgement, if the values and institutions of community are the same as those of society.

Doubts about the effectiveness of the 'school as community' may have promoted interest in a second kind of solution. Namely that the community should become educator. More specifically, agencies in the community should perform some or all of the functions schools have increasingly been expected to perform. In some cases such a solution is supported by concepts of community which pre-date the development of industrial society and the growth of conurbations. The success of such a solution will depend on our ability to re-create in modern post industrial society the kind of community known to most of our grandfathers and which may still survive in the rural areas of our countries even now. Characteristic of such communities are face-to-face relationships in politics, work and social life. Appropriate norms are those of the Sermon on the Mount, or in more secular terms those described by Parsons as associated with ascribed position, diffused tasks, community interest and gratification postponement. Appropriate institutions

are the extended family, craft industries and small businesses, churches and political authority based on inheritance (kin, aristocracy) and knowledge (priests and teachers). If the picture is exaggerated it is with deliberate intent because the models which served small pre-industrialised communities well are no longer appropriate.

In cities the extended family is now a nuclear family. The small firm in which brothers and friends worked side by side under the watchful eye of an older neighbour has been replaced by the huge anonymous factory. The well-known and respected figures of the law - policeman, sheriff, and even judge - has been replaced by remote figures recognisable only by virtue of the uniforms they wear. If the norms of village life have been retained - albeit cynically - by teachers and middle class parents the institutions which put them into practice are rapidly disappearing even in those areas inhabited by people who have some chance of controlling their environment by recreating rural or small-town institutions and retaining appropriate norms. A solution which has some possibility of succeeding in affluent middle class communities has little chance of success in areas where members of the community lack economic and political power in the larger society. Even the power of the middle classes to recreate a viable community in the city centre suburbs is limited.

They may try and succeed in re-creating leisure-time institutions - the bridge club, the local theatre, the cafe or pub. They may support traditional schools and manipulate well known political institutions. They are unlikely to be able to re-create in the city the kind of economic institutions which were typical of the small town of an earlier industrial era. Commuting is the norm. Few workers go home for lunch or work alongside father, brother or near neighbour. Management - labour relationships are dominated by out-dated norms and trade unions which are the product of the first industrial revolution. If these features of community cannot be recreated what should be the characteristics of the modern industrial community? What values should it promote? Achievement, universalism, specificity, self interest and rational-legal rather than charismatic concepts of authority? Through what new kinds of institutions should the modern industrial community operate? The challenge is enormous.

It has been taken up to some extent in the USSR. Concepts of community take fully into account processes of industrialisation and the changing relationships involved. In practice the factory, its nearby blocks of flats and their associated schools look very much like industrial communities. If some older religious norms have been rejected in theory, new norms are preached. The power of state organs is acknowledged. The equality of women as industrial workers recognised. But central to the theory is the belief that community values and face to face relationships should be deliberately linked to the productive industrial life of a communist society. In short many features of the traditional community have been rejected, although some have in practice been retained. In this model the school in practice plays a rather specific and traditional role. This however is not by intent. The Khruschev reforms were intended radically to change the role of the school so that it could better meet the needs of a changing society. The failure of these reforms shows how difficult it is to transform the school into an institution capable of serving a modern industrial society. An alternative is to retain as many traditional institutions as possible, family and the network of authority associated with it, and make them serve economic growth. Japan's success seems to exemplify this approach.

This analysis suggests that central to the problems created by changes in education and society are the relationships between school and work. A community centred approach to them may well be quite different, and indeed antithetical to a society centred approach. Contacts with local industry and business firms while students are still at school imply either that the latter hope to enter those or similar occupations or that from their experiences they can learn some general principles from which they can then deduce specific and appropriate behaviour and attitudes. The Soviet experience suggests that for those whose ambition is to enter university and who see the schools as helping them to achieve this ambition work experience is largely irrelevant. This is not however to deny the value of attempting to build bridges between school and industry. It is to suggest that some traditional school functions may well have to be abandoned if the policy is to succeed.

For example current interest is in how the school system can better meet present and future manpower needs. Manpower planning is undertaken in the interests of society, rarely in the interests of the community. If it is to succeed it may require a measure of government control over schools or industry which neither teachers nor managers and trade unionists are willingly prepared to accept.

Relationships between traditional educational systems and manpower are complex. The control of education as an effective way of meeting manpower needs (even if these can be calculated and anticipated) is suspect principally because of student demand, the influence of teachers and the subsequent freedom of trained personnel to select their occupation. Doubtless one reason for current interest in recurrent education is because it offers some possibility of relating educational provision more flexibly with manpower requirements and retraining needs. What is also evident is that educational policy has to be seen in the light of economic policy.

Just as alternative economic policies are debated in developing countries so too in the industrial world. One policy, as in the Soviet Union, is based on the belief that development depends upon investment in primary industries. Another policy stresses investment in consumer goods. Each policy depends for success on an appropriate pattern of attitudes and behaviour among workers and management. In spite of these, alternatives patterns of education appear remarkably similar. Education in the USSR bears a close resemblance to German prototypes. The influence of American educational developments is widespread regardless of the political ideology of government and the economic policies pursued. Traditional systems of education have been modified but not transformed. Traditional values have been preached sometimes with less and less success or where cultural traditions have clashed from inconsistent backgrounds. The schools far from moving with the times have lagged behind societal change whether they have been given a limited, specialised role to perform or have been regarded as vicarious communities in so far as they have been the guardians of rural values and the perpetuators of traditional forms of behaviour.

Evidently there is no education panacea for the problems of rural, small town, city and conurbation life. Or one which will serve all models of economic growth and development. Or indeed one which will serve national societies equally well. It seems likely in the light of past experience that models for education devised by educationists are not going to be adequate. Consequently we turn to a third aspect of our theme namely the extent to which communities can participate in the running of schools.

This solution runs counter to educational tradition in most countries and as suggested earlier has been resisted by teachers either overtly or covertly. Even in the USA where community involvement, bordering on control, is a cherished tradition limitations have always been placed upon the extent to which lay groups participate in the formulation of education policy or in its implementation. In most countries some issues in education are more debated than others by lay personnel. Not surprisingly, as loosely linked communities were brought together to form a national society one question turned on the extent to which power should be vested in national agencies rather than retained by local communities. Anglo-Saxon solutions differ somewhat from continental European solutions. In England and the USA education is regarded, first and foremost, as a local concern. National debates about the organisation of education are, however, channelled through the political parties in England. In France and Sweden the re-organisation of secondary education has been influenced by party politics, less so in the Federal Republic of Germany. Government policy in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries has been informed by attitudes derived from political theory. Debates about the curriculum in Japan have been conducted at a national level and have been highly politicised. In most countries however the content of education has been debated principally though not exclusively among educationists. This tradition stems from concepts of academic freedom and university autonomy. Thus while a Minister of Education may de jure prescribe syllabuses and a timetable for schools, educationists are likely de facto to control them. The protection schools previously enjoyed from lay interference has not been eliminated even though expansion and organisation are matters of national and party political debate. In the USA the constitution places restrictions on the influence of Federal Government agencies even though Congress is able to fund activities regarded as essential to the common defence and welfare of the country and the Supreme Court hands down decisions which affect the teaching of some subjects and controversial issues. The 1944 Act in England places clear limits on the Minister, although at the moment there are signs that his position may be strengthened by legislation. On balance the trend in England and the USA is towards greater involvement by national agencies.

Greater participation by local communities in the formulation, adoption and implementation of policy may be seen as an alternative compatible with national involvement provided most of the money is raised by the larger society. The question is, however, how effectively can community groups influence local schools without usurping power? And how far are national governments prepared to finance the schools without a measure of control over them? Or stated in another way, over what areas of policies can community participation extend? How might it influence the teachers' role? Many years ago Stanley and Smith at the University of Illinois drew a distinction between the moral authority of teachers as members of a profession - with an ethic of public service, esoteric knowledge and some power to control entry to the profession - and their technical authority. Their analysis led them to suggest that while representatives of a community might well help to establish what kind of public service the schools should perform, it was the duty of teachers to perform this service in the light of their esoteric knowledge, and in accordance with a code of ethical behaviour established by them. In advocating community participation in the running of schools this distinction might well be drawn. Clearly the public may expect the school to perform additional or new roles but teachers

may be unwilling to provide the type of service needed. Even if collectively they accept new roles by entering into a dialogue with representatives of the community or society they may not be equipped to perform them. On the other hand teachers may accept new tasks but perform them in a way which prevents the achievement of community objectives. The technical knowledge possessed by teachers makes it difficult for lay members of the community to suggest effective alternatives. Yet we have seen how little socio-economic impact schools controlled by teachers have had. In short proposals to improve the schools by increasing public participation have an air of unreality unless it be accepted that control of content, methods of teaching and examination procedures should be taken out of the hands of teachers.

In trying to survey some of the changes which have taken place in education and in society over the past thirty years my intention has been to suggest that the problems we face cannot easily be solved by a return to previous models. We cannot run modern post-industrial society on the basis of rural community values. We cannot tamper with institutions in the hope that they will survive and indeed succeed. We should look realistically at alternative educational and social policies. The most radical alternative to Dewey's solution that the school should become vicariously the community has been made by the deschoolers. Radical alternatives to economic growth as the objective of social change are now being considered. Perhaps most urgently needed are policies which will slow down rates of social and educational change. But that alas is a very conservative solution. I doubt whether it will be accepted by many participants at this conference but I feel sure we shall gain much from comparisons of solutions to the dilemmas we face.

2. THE CHALLENGE OF SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY AND WHETHER OR NOT TO ACCEPT IT

Susanne Mowatt (OECD Paris)

'If the school is to take up the challenge that is implied in the critique directed at it from many sides, it will have to re-model its curriculum and its administration so as to ensure a meaningful interrelation with the surrounding community'

Most contemporary discussions on the subject of school and community - including the present one, if the above quotation is any indication - proceed from the assumption that the two should be brought closer together. 'Meaningful interrelation', it is assumed, is an intensely symbiotic one. In ideal cases, boundaries between the two participating entities are so blurred that, as Mr. Midwinter has said, no one can tell where the one ends and the other begins. It would, however, be a pity if this Conference were to proceed along the same lines. Experience of the past few years has indicated, if nothing else, that this assumption needs examination. In general and in specific cases both sides of the question need arguing before anything approaching 'meaningful interrelation' can be achieved.

Community schooling, however defined, is at this point in history a movement. The level of activity conducted in its name is high, has been reached in a fairly short space of time, and continues to expand. Here and there the beginnings of a gentle backlash can be seen but for the most part is disregarded.[2] Thus journals, courses, books proliferate, as does attention being paid to the matter by central Ministries, not to mention positive statements and guidelines resulting from their consideration. That these latter should seemingly be based so much on faith and so little on evidence would be perhaps more startling than it is, were it not for the fact that so little evidence is available.

This indeed is one of the most serious sources of confusion concerning the movement as a whole: simply that there is no hard evidence concerning what it is or does. Very few projects or programmes have ever been systematically evaluated. Therefore, it is impossible to be precise about cause and effect, or to state with accuracy what practices serve what objectives, or how. It can be said that once any community-involvement programme is under way, certain consequences begin to flow, some positive and some not, depending largely on the observer's point of view. But it cannot be known in advance what these consequences will be. Nor is it possible to be very clear about trade-off's: what is gained by a particular programme in relationship to what is lost.

This is not by any means the only source of confusion. Another is the lack of common referents, which is to say meaning, given to the terms employed. A 1972 literature search in the United States revealed even then 292 definitions of 'community'; while it hardly seems worthwhile to try to add another, it must be noted that such ambiguity concerning the movement's central concept does not augur well for rational discussion. Confusion is also caused by the vast variety of practices and programmes that are carried out in the name of closer relations between school and community. It does not help that a considerable proportion of this variety includes activities of the sort that have been considered standard good practice in some areas for years, in other words exactly what good teachers normally do.

A body of knowledge is however slowly developing and by now casts some

light on the subject as a whole. It is based for the most part on subjective accounts of the kinds of experiences in question, and unfortunately draws more heavily from stories of relative success than from those of failure - here as elsewhere the literature of educational failure is scanty. Nevertheless, it is enough to permit the formulation of some tentative hypotheses, one of which is especially important in the context of the present paper.

It is this: that in the area of school - community relations the individual school is the one level at which all the relevant decisions must be made. Only the school can embark upon a programme or project of community involvement, or accept pressures from its community for such involvement, or draw back and exist as a separate entity, as it sees fit. What this implies in policy terms is that effective policy might be directed at giving the school a breathing space as it were and then the administrative and psychological wherewithal to mediate this space as it sees fit; there has yet to be seen much evidence that central direction to become community-involved has the desired effect. What it implies in research terms is that the dimensions of this wherewithal might profitably be investigated, in comparative terms or otherwise. Finally, what it implies for the present discussion is that this paper is based firmly on the belief that any successful - even meaningful - interrelationship with a community is firmly rooted in the ethos, character, and human and administrative arrangements that make each school unique.

With this as background it would seem appropriate to return to our central theme, and to the statement guiding this conference and quoted at the beginning of this paper. Consideration of this statement leads to a first unavoidable question, and a very basic one: should schools take up this challenge? Secondly, and likewise unavoidable: what exactly is the nature of this challenge? And thirdly: in those schools that have accepted the challenge, what kind of remodelling of curricular and administrative relationships have been undertaken or become apparent? What, in other words, have the consequences been? Reversing as seems sensible the order of things, these are the questions this paper will address.

The nature of the challenge

The challenge posed to the school is implicit in the critique directed against it, our text says, and it can be assumed that the kind of critique in question is the relatively standard one: that education and hence schools are cut off from the realities of life, that most of the content of what is learned is therefore irrelevant to the lives of students, that furthermore not much learning goes on in schools anyway and that is largely because, not only of the dry and academic nature of what is taught, but also of its utter meaninglessness in the contexts in which most pupils lead their lives. Learning is by doing and not by sitting at a desk. Furthermore, education, hence schools, have become too bureaucratised, emphasise form rather than purpose or content, and perpetuate rather than reduce existing social and economic inequalities.

There are more and less sophisticated ways of stating these truths, depending largely on the sources of their emanation. But something very similar has by now become almost a part of the public consciousness, at least among that part of the public that thinks critically enough about education to challenge it at all. As such, this critique exerts undoubtedly more influence on the actions of teachers and educators than might be thought.

Many of them, especially the younger ones, have internalised it too. There are, however, a few things that must be said about this challenge.

One is that even those of us who ought to know better challenge certain facts of school life without thinking adequately of what the consequences of that challenge are. There is an English regulation that gives the headmaster the right to have anyone, including a parent, removed from school grounds. At first glance this seems a far from satisfactory state of affairs. But not so long ago the author mentioned this to a Swiss canton inspector. A similar regulation exists in his area, he reported, and the week before it had been very useful when a parent of one student at a junior secondary school had appeared in the school grounds and begun attacking physically - and brutally - another of the students. It was possible legally to have this father removed within minutes.

Similarly, the implications of much of what makes up the standard critique are rarely fully thought out. 'Relevance' provides an excellent case in point. It is something we have lately given in quite large doses, especially to students living in deprived communities. In well-publicised cases, children who live in slums learn their arithmetic by going to supermarkets where they count cans and figure out how much they can buy. Incidentally they are meant to learn the price of food and how to count change.

But if there are two things a slum child does not have to be formally taught, they are the price of food and how to figure out how much cash he is owed. Those are things rich people have the luxury to ignore. More important, in other less 'relevant' schools the fundamentals of mathematics - and of other disciplines - are offered, and give to their students not only an introduction to a culture larger than that of the local supermarket but a possibility to play a role in that larger culture and even to manipulate it. Too much 'relevance' denies access to this larger culture; it is class-constraining rather than not.

It is a somewhat open question as to whether the recipients of 'relevance' want it anyway. Eric Midwinter, the driving force behind much of the Liverpool EPA activity, neatly, if unintentionally, illustrates this doubt.

> 'I recall making much the same point (that Richard Lionheart is not relevant either) to a group of students about geography, a discipline which sometimes seems to attract more and more attention to items as they grow less and less meaningful. The Eskimoes were the case at hand; not only were they remote from the child's experience, many of them now, far from living blubberbound in igloos, wear suits and man American bases. One of the students went into a school next day and the teacher said: 'you can do the Eskimoes: I've been saving them all year because I know students like to do them.'[3]

Contempt for such foolishness underlies Mr. Midwinter's account, not to mention a certain ignorance of the realities of the Canadian North. The problem, however, as most teachers of the relevant age-groups and indeed most one-time elementary school pupils with long memories can attest, is that students <u>do</u> like 'to do Eskimoes'. The more grave problem is, on what grounds can their access - to Eskimoes as to kings - be denied?

It can incidentally be argued that the decisions that really affect the future of our European city cores are being taken in the boardrooms of

international corporations and councils of the EEC. Schools seriously concerned about their role in social change might think in terms of preparing their students to enter in these deliberations. A school project that concentrates on physically tidying up a few square city blocks is not going to effect significant social change.

Another difficulty with the critique against schools, however, arises from the fact that it is expressed always in universals. As such it can rarely be applied to, or have much meaning for, an individual school. There is no implicit challenge in a form that an individual school can do much about, or perhaps even needs to do much about.

Consider, as applied to an individual school, the argument that 'reality' is to be found somewhere else. The point is almost never made that there is, in fact, reality to be found <u>in</u> schools. People - teachers and students - live in them after all, spend large proportions of their lives in them, act out their ambitions and hopes and fears. Teachers too, despite what is said about them, do have some knowledge of what the world is about. They do not belong to a strange monastic order 'cut off from the realities of life'. Students likewise bring their realities with them.

The realities to be found within schools are not necessarily the nicest realities the world has to offer, but they are far from being the worst. In fact, considering the realities that govern the lives of many children (most often in those areas where the community-schoolers are at their most vocal and enthusiastic), it is not unreasonable to postulate the belief that schools should maintain and even strengthen their possibilities to be somewhat isolated from their surroundings. They can then give to their children a taste of different reality, allow the child a refuge or temporary escape and a place to construct a reality of his own.

There is as well another question that relates to the nature of this non-school reality. The point can be argued that there is not much reality to be found anywhere these days. Either the relationship between means and end is obscured (as in modern construction techniques used for large buildings) or it is made neutral to a point somewhere beneath comprehension - one thinks of life and death as portrayed on television. One thinks, indeed, particularly of television, and the 'navigation from reality' its broadcasting portrays.[4] Perhaps after all it is the school's job to reveal or create what reality underlies such disjointed activity, to try to portray the meaning attributed by our common culture to understand what we see, even - more ambitiously - to try to create the common culture that could explain some of today's world. These tasks may or may not be best done in some solitude and the pedagogy is not ready to hand. In any event they are not tasks necessarily helped by more and closer contact with a surrounding community.

Learning, of course, is essentially a private affair. The process by which random events and objects are given some order, by which reality is comprehended, is ultimately an individual effort conducted in a solitary state. Bettelheim[5] reminds us that literacy, 'man's great achievement', began as sheer magic and was not created to serve utilitarian purposes; he argues that modern education has discarded the role of mystery and magic to its detriment. It is impossible to resist adding that it is only relatively unimportant things that are learned by doing. In individual lives as in those of nations, the important questions of life and death and war and peace are those that must be faced and answered without specific preparation.[6]

If the universals are discarded, undoubtedly the only challenge with any meaning is that to be found in the immediate environment of the school, and then interpreted and acted upon by the school. This can take the form of external pressure, although this seems still relatively rare in European society. More commonly - at least in effective community involvement programmes - the pressure, or challenge, is internal. The school becomes aware of a situation or state of affairs it wishes to influence or change for the sake of its pupils; it sets about doing so. It follows that a useful focal point for investigation by researchers or policy makers would be to think in terms of assisting schools as units to determine what kinds of challenge are legitimate and then workable. It would also be useful to give some thought to development of the necessary sensitivity and skills on an institutional basis, i.e. to allow schools to understand their internal reality and work from it.

By legitimacy is meant basically the point that the most obvious challenge in a school's immediate environment, the one in most need of attention, may or may not be educational in nature. The boundaries are difficult to draw; nevertheless it may well be the job of the Department of Health to do something about dental decay. No one will quibble with a school concerned enough about this latter to do something about it in the absence of anyone else who appears willing or able to do so; it can hardly refuse the challenge, especially if its students are suffering. Increasingly, it seems only schools are willing to pick up random responsibilities. But they should be aware - as should other social authorities - that the gains thus made are social or political, and not educational in its purest sense.

The two reasons why this awareness should be emphasised are that, first, increasingly there is no body or institution left in existence whose primary task is educational - the efforts of schools are becoming scattered. This is not necessarily a bad thing, but it should be made explicit. Secondly, very basic questions of central resource allocation are involved, and accepting the notion that schools will do everything may be one neat way to avoid them. In cases of external pressure of course, legitimacy also involves the question of whether education is what parents or citizens groups necessarily want to be involved in. Depending on their objectives, they might be better to present their case to a local branch of government, or a local hospital.

As to the workability of the challenge, individual schools must decide what they can and can't do, given the resources at their disposal. We know remarkably little about innovation at the school level; we do know that community involvement is trying and difficult work in which the results gained are often minute compared to the efforts expended. We also know that most successful programmes have depended very much on the presence of one inspired or inspiring individual.

The effects in schools

The basic question here is what are consequences for the school, in administrative and curricular but also human terms, once a community-involvement programme has been embarked upon. That there are consequences is clear, although the point should be made that they may have very little to do with learning. Certainly for a school child, reading in a community library surrounded by adults has consequences, but we again run into the fact that we do not know what these consequences are: no comparative studies have been undertaken of children who have had to suffer or profit from

adults using their equipment. Even in general terms we know very little about the connection, if any, between curriculum content and the way people then act. In this particular instance, even if children do learn more because of a community programme, they might still prefer to learn less in a set of circumstances more to their liking. 'One neurotic teacher is better than ten neurotic parents', as a veteran of the radical Berlin day-care centres succinctly writes.[7]

Schools that have taken up the challenge of community involvement may find themselves involved in a variety of activities. Parents or adults may be entering the school as resource persons or as students, or both. Students may be found in teaching functions, or pursuing student functions in a place physically removed from the school. Curriculum elements may have been designed that make use of the immediate environment as a starting-point, or as an end-point. This may have been accompanied by a shift in teaching methodology from discipline-based to project-based. In all or any cases, certain risks are run, and a few general remarks can be made about them.

One - frequently unanticipated - risk is that a school may find it is displeasing the clientele it most wishes to serve. In the interests of closer relations in Detroit a few years ago a commission was formed to create new reading materials that would have meaning in the lives of the inner city and largely Negro children who would learn from them. So linguists loitered in playgrounds and did word counts, sociologists and experts were consulted. Some situations were headed off in advance, for example the word 'father' was not planned for use in the first few lessons but was intended to be slipped in quietly a little later on. The reason given for this was that a large proportion of the families involved don't have fathers. Especially great care was taken with the illustrations. Finally, the finished product was presented to a participatory group of parents and community representatives - and this group objected strenuously to two things.

They did not like the illustrations of their children wearing patched clothing, and they did not like the illustrations of their children playing by open fire hydrants in the streets. 'What we want', said one clear-sighted mother, 'are swimming-pools'. Yes, came the answer, but this is realism, this is relevance, this illustration will have meaning in your child's life because he and his friends play by fire hydrants. To which the answer came: 'Is there any reason why our children should not aspire to swimming pools?'.

In this case the schools involved ran into a set of aspirations higher than those they had already established on behalf of the people involved. A school may equally well find itself face to face with a set of narrow and conservative attitudes that would restrict its definition of task rather than expand it. When the public is polled on why people should go to school, it usually replies in order to get a good job. The public also values such traditional virtues in schools as 'discipline' and 'respect for authority', and various other things that not all schools tend to over-emphasize these days. Leaving aside the question of whether the public is right, the school that has stated its desire to work closely with a segment of this public may find itself in a difficult position to reconcile the situation.[8]

Even questions of whether its overtures will be welcomed cannot be easily answered. Hostility and suspicion are not, it seems, extended only to those schools that - more than most, let us say - have richly earned it. It seems

that highly regarded schools embarking on community-involvement programmes often meet with community suspicions of another sort, that is to say fears that established community habits or patterns of communal life may be disrupted or even destroyed. What happens to the local Working Mens' Associations? To regularly established forms of recreation at, e.g. a local drinking place? To the amateur theatricals organised by a local church? The fact that these are very valid fears does not make the question easier.

It is not unimportant either that once a school extends its educational role it places itself in a situation where it will be judged according to non-educational criteria. It moves beyond the protection extended by society to the somewhat artificial world of traditional teaching and learning in schools and finds itself subject to the normal sanctions that obtain in the 'real world'.[9] It may be forced therefore to defend its actions not only on educational grounds but on all those other grounds normally associated with political persuasion. A central point is that acting in the real world has consequences; learning at least implies the right to make mistakes and not be held fully responsible.

Overall, the effects in administrative terms of accepting these and other risks, and the unpredictability they imply, is first of all a certain dispersal of authority. Events are unpredictable and involve unpredictable groups of people: no one person can deal with them all. Secondly, the very nature of the programme is organic, with shifting patterns of participation and response. As such it cannot be controlled, indeed should not. A new set of administrative skills must be learned, not least of all the art of guiding after the fact. Furthermore, a new set of flexible administrative relationships must be developed and lived with. One effect nearly all schools report is sheer human fatigue. Human organisations change in small and irregular ways and the human costs involved in producing these changes are enormous. Very often the result seems hardly worth the cost involved.

In pedagogical or curricular terms, a similar effect is found. The teacher's role may be enhanced (as more people see the teacher performing his job) but responsibilities as they broaden may have less chance to deepen. Similarly, with dispersal of the teaching role its efficiency may become less marked. Here it must be pointed out that, despite loose statements made to the contrary, the present organisation of teaching and learning is remarkably efficient. Otherwise it would not have endured nearly as long as it has.

Should schools take up the challenge?

We began by postulating that both sides of the school-community question need arguing, that in order to comprehend it at all the case should be made both for closer relations and for greater separateness. This is true both in a general sense and in its application to the life of an individual school. We saw too that the overall subject has more than its share of ambiguities. Nothing - the terms employed, the rationale given, the effects of any course of action - is either straightforward or clear. We suggested that school is the focal point in terms of action and should be the focal point in terms of policy and research. The latter should be directed towards allowing the school to make its own decisions in this area - moving closer or not to its community as seems appropriate at any time in a given situation.

Looking at the challenge directed at schools we saw chiefly that as expressed

that is to say in universals, it rarely applies to an individual school. Therefore, a school cannot get much guidance from this challenge, and would have difficulties in interpreting it in such a way as to give direction to its own activities. This is a problem compounded by the fact that only rarely are both sides of any elements of the critique argued. For a few years we have tended to accept it as given, forgetting that a problem facing a school might be too much community rather than too little, forgetting there may be good reasons for the legal responsibilities given schools, forgetting they are institutions that - again for good reason - can give refuge to and protect a child, forgetting that there are limits to 'relevance'.

We looked too at some of the risks that are involved when a school undertakes a programme involving closer relations with its community. It may displease the clientele it most wishes to serve, it may run into attitudes or aspirations in its surroundings more profound than it could have anticipated or totally unacceptable to its own aspirations or philosophy. It will find its authority dispersed and its responsibility dispersed - neither of these necessarily evil in themselves, but both of them ready to exact a price in terms of human effort. It will also find that stepping into what is euphemistically known as the 'real world' means stepping into the standards and hence the sanctions that the real world normally applies.

Given all this, should schools continue to explore the question of closer relations with their communities? Should they be encouraged to involve parents in their work, to involve their students in the realities around them, to involve themselves in the realities of their students' lives even when these realities are not strictly educational? The answer, of course, is an almost unqualified yes.

This is partly by default because increasingly very few other bodies or institutions show themselves ready or able to accept responsibility for school-aged children. Therefore schools, as compassionate institutions seeking to care for and to educate their children, have little choice but to involve themselves in whatever is affecting these children. It is also partly because - despite all the difficulties we have outlined - it seems unquestionable that genuine partnership between a school and one or another element of its surrounding community in pursuit of common goals can achieve genuine and lasting results. Schools do not have the resources to be all things to all people all of the time, but they can make small gains in their environments on behalf of their principal clientele. It cannot be forgotten either that whatever they do or whatever they develop may be better than anything that has preceded it.

But it seems there are two necessary conditions to this affirmative reply. One is that schools must be given help to enable them to interpret their own challenges and to act effectively upon them. Help here means the administrative freedom to do so, and the physical as well as psychological resources that are necessary. The second condition is that traditional functions of schooling should not be forgotten; nor the real strength and potential importance of this role even in contemporary situations. Schools can act in their environment, they can make lasting gains by doing so, but they should not be afraid to take the unpopular course either.

Notes and References

1 'Conference of the Comparative Education Society in Europe, 2nd-7th June, 1975', World Council of Comparative Education Societies Newsletter, Vol. III, No.1, March 1975, p.9.

2 British Columbia, Canada, provides a good example. Following a period of Ministry-inspired activity unconsciously reflecting both Swedish and American approaches, i.e. school to become the centre of everything, and everyone to help it do its job, there can now be discerned a general drawing back. The new order of the day appears to be allocation and sharing of responsibilities for the educational and social welfare of the child, the educational establishment saying in effect that it began these various activities and showed their necessity, now other bodies can take over. The moving force in the drawing back appears to be the School Boards, i.e. the lay bodies elected at local school district level to supervise education in its area. Whether this drawing back is representative of the essentially conservative nature of the public's belief about education, and/or whether it is genuinely representative of public opinion is not yet certain. In either event there may be implications for the movement as a whole.

3 Eric Midwinter, Priority Education, An Account of the Liverpool Project, London, Penguin Books, 1972, pp.13-14.

4 Michael Arlen in The New Yorker, 28th April, 1975.

5 In Encounter, November 1974

6 A more complete discussion of this point is to be found in Konrad von Moltke, 'The Consequences of Participation'. Paper prepared for OECD in October 1974 and to be published shortly.

7 Storefront Day Care Centers, The Radical Berlin Experiment, edited by an Authors' Collective, Boston, Beacon Press, 1973.

8 Time Magazine, 2nd June, 1975, reports 'now more than 100 murders in public schools each year', concentrates its own attention on Evanston, Illinois, and poses and answers the following questions: 'What has caused the shift to violence in Evanston and other U.S. schools? A number of Evanston parents blame the high school for not enforcing discipline and punishing offenders .... school officials blame an atmosphere of permissiveness in the home and a lack of respect for authority'.

9 Again von Moltke, op.cit., provides a lucid discussion of this point.

3. THE COMMUNITY AS EDUCATOR

Lamberto Borghi (Florence)

The problem of an 'educative community' is closely linked to that of public participation in educational decision making. This statement does not need a long explanation. It is apparent that the population at the local level cannot have an effective voice in school administration policy unless it has reached a cultural level which enables it to discuss issues which have been until recently the special field of a limited number of administrators and teachers.

However, if we try to examine more closely the two concepts of 'educative community' and 'public participation in educational decision making' we can see some important differences between them. The concept of 'educative community' has a wider range than the one which indicates the ability of a group, small or large, to make decisions in the educational field. The latter is without any doubt an important feature of an 'educative community'. In the Faure Report Apprendre à être, this point was formulated clearly. In the part entitled 'toward an educative community' the final character of a reform which could ensure an effective start to the movement in that direction was defined in terms of 'the democratization of school administration policy', and 'a larger participation of the public in all the decisions concerning education'. But, in that same chapter, the Report identified the main instruments of the needed reform in 'the consideration of the teaching process not as the conclusive act but as merely one of the components of that total education which realizes itself in both school and out-of-school dimensions'.

The stress was laid on the need to 'connect the educative strategies with the other social problems', thus developing 'non linear strategies' based on the actual analysis of the needs and aspirations of individuals and groups, i.e., 'on objectives visualized not under the exclusive school profile, but as related to such fields, which have some connection with it, as employment, production, agriculture, social life and relations, urban development, individual aspirations, changes in techniques and means of communication, the living standard of the population and projects of development'.

This wider concept of education is not new to educational theory. John Dewey put it very clearly when in 1933 he defined education as 'participation in community life', adding that this social conception of education would cease to be abstract and formal only when it 'connected with the concrete facts of family, industry, business, politics, church, science'.

It seems to me to be a proper interpretation of the concept of an 'educative community' which underlines the motive of social responsibility, i.e. of participation in decision making by all the members of a group in all areas of community life; not only formal education and school, but also economic, political, and cultural life in its actual and most urgent aspects.

'Training individuals to share in social control' in all the branches of life is the distinctive feature of an educative community, whose conception is thus seen to be convergent with that of 'participative democracy', where collective interest and public undertaking overshadow and eventually eliminate competitive individualism and profit seeking attitudes and behaviour in individuals and corporate groups.

Once we have grasped the idea of what has been called 'the intrinsic nature of a democratic society educationally considered', we have at the same time underlined the task of educators and of the educational system in the creation and strengthening of a new social order. The concept of an educative society does not imply nor does it justify the idea of the 'death of the school'.

The nature of an educative society includes as its proper feature the growth of adequate forms of permanent education. In fact real and genuine permanent education comes into being only when and where all the institutions and ways of life in a given society have an educative dimension. They develop this character when they help all its members to acquire knowledge and skills enabling them to express their own needs and to discover by experiment the proper channels for their satisfaction instead of leaving this task to a specialized class. The schools perform a necessary function when instead of limiting their task to the imparting of ready-made information, they devote their efforts to securing the intellectual and emotional education of the young. The close bond between these two main aspects of education is revealed when teaching and learning convey enjoyment in research and the will to share with others the methods and the results of inquiry.

The 'Decreti Delegati' in Italy and the idea of an educative society

The impact of community participation on educational decision making, not only in the creation of a better school system and in the improvement of the quality of education itself, but also in the growth of permanent education and of the educative characters of the entire community, has been a main objective in a study of the implementation of Decreti Delegati by teachers and parents in various towns in Tuscany and Liguria which is being carried out by members of the Institute of Education in Florence.

The Decreti were issued by the Italian government on May 30 1974 as a result of the 'delegated' power accorded to it by Parliament in the law of July 3 1973. Their intention, according to the text of the law, was to foster the creation of 'a school community whose purpose should be not only the transmission of culture but also the continuous and autonomous process of its growth in close relationship with society'. The decreto on the collegiate bodies of the school took up this idea by declaring that the new bodies were brought about 'with the aim of achieving participation in the running of the school, in giving it the character of a community which interacts with a wider social and civic community'.

It is not easy to explain the reasons why this change in school administration in Italy has been effected and the import of the change. In historic terms, one might dare to explain the step taken by the Italian Government as one aimed at lessening the existing hierarchical, bureaucratic structure of the state school system in favour of one giving an element of control to the public, and as originating in its attempt to capture the movement and the efforts toward democratization of left-wing political parties, both within and outside the government coalition; to capitalise on popular movements' pressure for direct participation in social and educational life. The Student Movement paved the way in this direction and made strong inroads in the traditional authoritarian structure of the Italian State and its schools. Several progressive municipalities had already created a network of educational institutions widely open to the participation of all citizens. Responsibility for administering schools had been delegated to districts

('quartieri') in various cities and towns. Strong pressure toward democratization was also exercised by 'unitary Trade-Unions', linking together workers and teachers.

The pressure towards control from below was applied more forcefully by extra-Parliamentary groups who attacked both the compromise accepted and endorsed by the socialist parties through their political alliance with the Christian Democratic party, and, less directly, by the Communist party through its policy favouring the 'historic compromise' with the Catholics. Direct intervention in political and civic affairs was also sponsored and implemented by local pressure in the large cities, fighting against the 'emargination' of immigrant groups in squalid suburbs and discrimination against their children in the school. Members of the Non-violent Movement for Peace and other libertarian groups were active in wide protest against profit-making corporations whose activities led to a deterioration of social and urban life and supported the trend toward a huge increase in the cost of living with the connivance of corrupt municipalities and the central government.

The campaign launched by the Radical Party and its allies to annul laws enacted by the Fascist and pre-Fascist governments, infringing the liberties of the citizens, had also been causing a great deal of worry in the ruling class and in the government. The huge majority vote in favour of the maintenance of the law on divorce at the end of the 'referendum' campaign in May 1974 was a heavy blow to the Conservatives and to the Catholics. Another campaign conducted by radical groups is now raging in the country. This aims to obtain the support of the public for an effort to force the government to submit to a referendum about the 'depenalization' of abortion. Government and political parties have been left behind by progressive public opinion and small active groups fostering direct social and political initiative by the people in local, regional, and national projects.

The decreti delegati, politically considered, are among the instruments put up by the Italian Government to counter the threat of reconstructive radicalism. The struggle between those who are for a real transformation and those who are for the maintenance of the existing structure of Italian society has been fought around the school. Never before has the school and educational problems been the focus of such an intensive national debate.

Seen in this political perspective, the decreti appear as the result of a compromise. As one Catholic writer has put it bluntly, 'actually, the real powers in the school administration remain in the hands of the monocratic agencies of the state apparatus' (U. Pototschnig, 'I decreti delegati e l'ordinamento delle stato', La gestione democratica della scuola, Firenze 1975, p.77).

However, the authoritarian attempt to capture education through the alluring instruments of the collegiate representative bodies has not succeeded completely. It is true that, under the heavy fire of propaganda carried on in the press under State control and by the Radio and Television, many people have been induced into the belief that a democratization process has been carried out in the school system with the enactment of the decreti. Most serious experts in both legal and educational matters agree, however, that the Decreti can only be regarded as a promise of a democratization which has not as yet been fulfilled. In order to achieve their stated purpose, they have to be considerably changed. The power relationship between the school administration (headmasters, principals, inspectors, superintendents, up to

the Minister of Education), the collegiate bodies, and the assemblies, which the decreti have brought into existence, is inadequate to secure a democratic functioning of the new agencies. The effective power of bureaucratic administration, notwithstanding all the official statements to the contrary, has not been broken. Citizens are elected to membership in the grade, inter-grade, school and institute councils only in their quality of parents. Only at the levels of school district councils and school province councils - neither of which are functioning yet - are representatives of 'social forces', municipalities, labour unions, commercial, industrial, agricultural and handicraft organizations, and cultural associations eligible for election. Only insofar as they are parents of pupils enrolled in the schools do citizens have some voice in the day to day task of running the schools in cities and in the country.

Of the three forces which the decreti have recognised as the main actors in the new structure for running the school, the assemblies of students (in senior secondary schools) and parents have very limited power. Assemblies of parents, in the first part of 1975, had an important part in the election of the collegiate bodies. After that, they have met to a varying degree in different localities according to the local interest of the population in school affairs. School authorities and representatives of conservative groups in the school councils have discouraged their activities. In many instances, where progressive groups were strongly represented on the collegiate bodies, members of the city councils and the trade unions, experts in educational affairs, social workers, etc., have been invited to attend their meetings. Assemblies and 'enlarged' school councils have been mainly responsible for the creation of a strong and permanent link between the school and the community. Through them the social implications of education, and also the technical problems of teaching and learning, have become familiar to the wider public. They can be regarded as the main instruments of community and permanent education. Community participation in the running of the school is possible and effective only when competence in educational matters, will and ability to exchange views with others and readiness to accept the point of view of other people when it results in a more reasonable public debate, are developed in community members. This is mostly done in the Assemblies.

The study of the Florence Institute of Education has paid much attention to the opinions of parents and teachers - about 5,000 of them in various localities of Tuscany and Liguria - concerning the value of the assemblies with regard to that of the collegiate bodies. More than 60% of the parents and 67% of the teachers have expressed the opinion that the two agencies - assemblies and collegiate bodies - should together run the school. A small percentage of the two groups accepted the view that schools should be run 'only under the direct control of the assemblies entrusted with powers of decision and control'. But the percentage of parents sharing this view was 12.7 against 7.2 of teachers. Appreciation of culture has been considered a great asset of the assemblies. On this point the difference between parents and teachers loomed larger. Thus one item, that through the assemblies 'the population appreciates culture to a greater measure', was agreed to by 55.7% of the parents as against 38.5% of the teachers.

Both groups, however, subscribed to the view that 'the assemblies offer an opportunity to discuss problems related to the social and political life of the schools'. It is noteworthy that on this point the percentage of teachers accepting this view was considerably higher than that of parents - 85.8 as

against 75.9.

On the whole, one of the most important results of the study is the high estimation placed by both parents and teachers on the value of the assemblies. The answers to various items dealing with the assemblies endorse the belief that the importance of the decreti lies to a great extent in the opportunity which they offer to the people to grow culturally and socially, and thus to develop an ability to participate in educational and school affairs.

The political impact of this wide appreciation of the value of the assemblies, and of school councils, enlarged by the inclusion of members of the community at their meetings, has been recognised by the Minister of Education, interpreting the view of the Government. In a recent telegram to school superintendents and collegiate bodies the Minister of Education has prohibited public meetings - i.e. those allowing the participation of non-elected members - of collegiate bodies. Further, the Minister has declared that all decisions made by the collegiate bodies in the presence of non-elected members are null and void. In issuing this sentence of annulment the Minister recognized that his interpretation of the article of the decreto concerning public involvement in the acts of collegiate bodies has to be further confirmed by a new law. In the meantime his interpretation is the only one which is effective. The activity of many collegiate bodies in the country has been paralysed.

This episode is indicative of the educational situation which has been created in Italy after the enactment of the decreti.

Commenting on the statement made by the Minister of Education at the beginning of May 1975, a journalist wrote in Il Corriere della Sera, on May 10th: 'If the school, like history, is 'teacher of life', it must not be a mere 'glass house'. It must, instead, allow the participation of all those people who are deeply interested in the numerous problems that develop in the school'.

4. EDUCATION IN THE CANADIAN COMMUNITY

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In a position paper for this conference, Brian Holmes has written:

> The view that industrial societies are more than a collection of communities implies that the quality of life cannot be improved by concentrating on education as an isolated aspect of community life or by suggesting that the schools should become the educative community or can compensate for disadvantages in other social sectors. It implies that radical changes must be made in schools, based on a reassessment of their proper function in the society. De-schooling, various types of non-formal education, polytechnization, and more moderate structural and participatory proposals are illustrative of changes redefining the place of the school in the community.

While these implications are borne out in the current sociological literature on education, it should be noted that the redefinition suggested may actually reintroduce a Gemeinschaft principle which restores the 'collection of communities'. Since education was, in an earlier period, community-centred and not isolated from other aspects of community life, there is no necessary contradiction between community education and an intersector view of educational function. Holmes' apparent suggestion of a synthetic development of community education within the structural environment of industrial society may be opposed then by the interpretation that current 'innovations' merely reflect a retrenchment in education - in effect a protective withdrawal into the womb of the community in order to maintain some degree of human identity and social intercourse in face of the mechanistic onslaught of modern technological society. Close comparative examination of case studies would be required to advance either of these interpretations, but the evidence to date is clearly not conclusive on any emerging synthesis. It appears rather to support an uneasy compromise and unstable reciprocation between Gesellschaft imperatives and Gemeinschaft values. In the West at least there is little retreat from the bureaucratization of power, but there is a noticeable resurgence of demand for informal, human interaction within a framework of community (variously defined). In Canada, as this paper will hopefully show, there is indication of both directions, but if any embryonic synthesis can be determined, it is one in which community development, if not in obsolete form, is subordinated to the structural mandate of industrial society; and in which the educative community may indeed expand across social-sector boundaries, but without disturbing the autonomy or isolation of other sectors themselves.

Eventually it might be hoped that the questions raised here could be resolved through a methodology involving the construction of a general model for education in a modern community, the derivation of an application of this model which accords with the conditions of a particular society, and the assessment of this application against the actual school-community situation. The basic approach in this paper rests on the recognition of that area integrity which is posited in the more traditional approaches to comparative education and which limits the direct thrust of research to the maximum geographical area showing analytically integral cultural characteristics, usually, the nation-state. This approach is supported by much of the social science literature dealing with the question, suggesting that 'relationships

between variables will be different for data from different geographic or cultural contexts', and assuming that 'events or social processes may vary in their meaning from context to context'.[1] I take this to be a social science statement on the historically unique form of institutions, institutionalization, and institutional development,[2] but there are various field-specific ways of supporting the principle of uniqueness, not all of which are directly indebted to either history or institutional theory. Although 'national character' is a discredited term, more refined methods still employ the concept; that is, the cohesive effect of root levels of interpersonal communication within an area support a certain exclusiveness of perceptions, shared meanings, habitual behaviours, and symbolic preferences.[3] This cultural cohesiveness probably applies to socio-cultural groups in concentric arrangement, with the national group being the largest effective interpersonal network. This paper is limited, then to the Canadian situation; comparative or universal conclusions can only be implicit.

Both identification of the situation and proposed action in a given context, in this case, Canada, reveal value premisses, which may be classified generally 1) conservative, 2) reconstructive, or 3) processive. The third alternative I consider not available to planners or for decisions on social policy unless as a function of the first or second. That is, exclusive reliance on criteria of 'process' is incompatible with planning decisions as these posit some combination of means, direction, and goal. Thus, though the momentum of action and the effectiveness of human interaction gained through a process model may be immensely valuable within a planning scheme, they cannot substitute for one.

The conservation model (1) is, in its analytic phase, closely associated with traditional methods of Comparative Education. It is assumed that the particular system must be identified in the particular cultural context; linkages, causal mechanisms, etc., integral to the culture system operation can be discovered and will explain the conditions of a given problem. Subtle causes and effects, not engineered into the system but latent in its functioning, are discoverable by comparison with control selections of alternative culture-systems. In its active phase, as a planning basis, this method assumes the adequacy of the system as a whole, or at least the historical necessity of the culture-system tie. Thus, development is seen to be progressive, and will depend on repair, refinement, sophistication of isolatable parts and linkages to account for present or future obsolescence, disfunction, or breakdown.

The reconstruction model (2), on the other hand, takes both its analytic and active point of departure outside the culture-system. That is, the characteristics and goals of development can be identified without cultural reference, then assessed against the culture-system characteristics to determine where and how change mechanisms should be introduced. In the analytic phase, culture-system identification may precede reconstructive analysis, but here, as in the active phase, such a preliminary step is not so much methodological as it is one of inventory. The goal or effect is as primary here as the culture-system is in the conservative model. The method entails locating the immediate cause of non-achievement of the given effect and changing or adding institutional or attitudinal parts to produce such an effect. This may mean working back to change linking sub-systems until the entire system is reconstructed. It depends on the possibilities for research and for radical change action whether the working back is done in the field

(active phase) or in the laboratory (analytic phase).

In Canada, community relationships accommodated by the institution of education are largely determined through administrative decisions, which may concern community benefit. Except for the pretence of community representation through elected school boards, community involvement is through contact with parents. Although this contact is individual and thus ineffectual in community terms, it is the nearest thing we have to a continuous process of linking the school to the outside community, and probably has an aggregative effect on the relationship. It will be useful then, to describe the ways in which parents are involved in their children's formal education as a basic step toward characterizing the adequacy of the existent school-community relationship.

The control structure for Canadian education was established by the British North America Act of 1867, which granted to the provinces complete control of education, except in matters pertaining to denominational rights and privileges recognized by law at the time. Provincial legislatures have since determined such matters as the number and kinds of schools to be established, their means of support, the types of curricula, and the qualifications and duties of teachers. Provincial differences in educational provision are essentially attributable to accommodations for denominational schooling and to the wealth of each province, though variations in structure and curricular detail are abundant.

Administratively, education is under control of a provincial Department of Education, headed by a Minister of Education, and under the permanent charge of a Deputy Minister. Each provincial system is divided into administrative units, which were once small districts approximately four miles square, but have now been largely consolidated into larger units administered by local educational authorities with considerable autonomy.

In reference to the question of community contact, it should be noted that there is scattered but frequently strong opposition on community grounds to the closing of small schools. This is motivated in part by traditional rural apprehension toward school reorganization, but also by more comprehensive agreement that the consolidation movement may work counter to modern values for community as well.[4]

The basic structures for public schooling are elementary schools (grades 1 to 6 or 8), junior high schools (grades 7 to 9), and senior high schools (grades 8 to 12/13 or 10 to 12/13). The elementary programme includes the usual basic skills and, depending on the situation of the school, general or specialized instruction in music, art, physical education, science, and other special subjects. In the more modern elementary schools, there is an emphasis on openness in architecture and method, variations of non-graded progress and individually prescribed instruction, and attempts to integrate subject matter along thematic lines. Secondary education is subject to the same tendencies, but their application is more restricted. Probably the most noticeable current trends are structurally, in diversification of school types, and in curriculum, in the effort to develop adequate programmes in Canadian studies.

Extensions to the basic structures, into early childhood education, adult education, and university part-time education are not easily generalized for Canada as a whole. Taken together however, they do indicate a movement toward the educative community concept, with substantial implications for the relationship of a broader range of individuals in the community to the

school system. There is furthermore, an institutional reference to community in the effort, not yet widespread and not unknown elsewhere, to experiment with 'families of schools', whereby elementary and secondary schools in a certain area are grouped for administration, and for consultative and ancillary services.[5]

Community-School Contacts

Formal community-school contacts are determined in educational legislation prescribed by elective representatives, primarily at the provincial and local levels. This means that elections can bring public influence directly to bear on educational policy. Elected officials are ultimately responsible to public opinion, and it is not difficult to find examples where public opinion, especially as it moves consistently in a certain direction, does influence educational decisions. Furthermore, there are frequently active efforts to solicit public opinion especially on major changes. Certain provinces, such as Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta have advisory committees made up of lay personnel to assist the Minister of Education in sensing public opinion.[6] Such Committees are supposed to short-cut bureaucratic channels and facilitate communication between the people and their elected officials. However, the Deputy Minister of Education and the officials of the Department of Education are more than simply civil servants carrying out the mandate of the public; they constitute the chief administrative body of the province and tend to make decisions about policy based on their perception of what legislation public opinion demands or will allow.

At the local level, public opinion and voting is supposed to bear directly on actions taken by local school baords. This is in part true, but here again, the professional administration and the actual distance of school trustees from their constituents tend to discourage consistent and meaningful involvement from the community. To some extent, this reflects the attitudes of citizens themselves, whose myopic or fragmented views on educational issues are often antagonistic to planning for the whole community.

It is difficult to generalize the degree of educational communication in Canadian communities because it becomes such a particularistic matter, dependent not only on provincial and local structure, but on urbanization and social class differences as well as on traditions in certain localities. It is clear however that the observable communication is that between school and parents, usually on the school's terms and primarily for the purpose of ascertaining the progress of individual children.

The thing that brings most parents into contact with the school is the grade-reporting procedure. Although the report card serves a purpose, it does not necessarily enhance communication. Therefore, many schools attempt to supplement or even replace this type of evaluation with teacher-parent interviews. Successful interaction depends on the attitude of the staff of the school however, and, unfortunately, reluctance on the part of the principal and his teachers to become involved with parents and their problems can unilaterally stifle communication.

In general, parent contact is fairly effective. Individual appointments are encouraged, and in some schools time is provided throughout the day or on designated days for teacher-parent discussions. The use of guidance counsellors, school psychologists, or other specialists may improve school-parent communication on particular social or learning problems of pupils.

This type of contact, however, relates to the community in only the loosest sense; it is essentially individual contact regarding a pupil's performance in school. It does not alter the school-community relationship.

As the school programme has increasingly taxed the teacher's time and ingenuity, parents and other interested members of the community have been invited to serve as volunteer aides helping the teacher in the accomplishment of her normal duties, or to serve as resource persons to enrich the school programme by exposing the children to experiences not normally encompassed in the school curriculum. The recent emphasis on pre-school education, resulting in the establishment, especially in urban areas, of day care centres, nursery schools, play schools, and private kindergartens, without an adequate pool of teachers trained at this level, has stimulated the use of volunteers. Parents with experience in these centres find it easier to establish contact with the regular schools.

This kind of community involvement is a refinement of traditional modes of interaction between the school and its immediate constituents. The establishment of school-advisory councils including parents, is a singular example of an attempt to address the relationship directly. Normally however, such councils function in the direction of institutional responsiveness, not in any sense of reciprocal redefinition through mutual effort. The relationship is basically within the conservative model, and has no significance for the radical change in community relations which might be implied or required by conditions of modern industrial life.

Home-and-school or parent-teacher organizations have attempted, to some extent, to provide a community framework for linkage between the two institutions. Objectives listed by the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation support this contention, though their level of generality and potential contradictions indicate the difficulty of defining such a unifying framework:

1. To promote the welfare of children and youth.
2. To raise the standards of home life.
3. To promote and secure adequate legislation for the care and protection of children and youth.
4. To foster co-operation between parents and teachers in the training and guidance of children and youth, both during and after the school period.
5. To obtain the best for each child according to his physical, mental, social, and spiritual needs.
6. To give parents an understanding of the school and its work, and to assist in interpreting the school in all its aspects to the public.
7. To confer and co-operate with organizations other than schools which concern themselves with the care, protection and training of children and youth in the home, school and community; and with the education of adults to meet these responsibilities.
8. To foster high ideals of citizenship and patriotism; and to promote, through educational means, international goodwill and peace.[7]

The number and membership of parent-teacher associations in Canada has declined drastically over the last decade. In light of the functions accepted earlier for these organizations, this is not surprising. Interaction among individuals in a small community and the raising of small

sums of money to support school activities were reason enough to maintain such associations. Modern conditions have changed parent perceptions however. In rural areas, the geographical and psychological distance of many parents from consolidated schools does not encourage their attendance at meetings, let alone their active participation in the association. Similar perceptions of impersonality and educational impotence pertain in urban areas. The pace and fragmentation of modern life, together with the monolithic appearance of modern schools work against the maintenance of the organization in its earlier form, and a new form is not yet discernible.

Parent-teacher associations, formal or informal, are most likely to persist at the elementary school level. One reason for this is that elementary schools appear to correspond more to expectations held in common by parents from their past experience. Furthermore, elementary schools serve the children of a small, definable area, and hence are still located within a geographical community.

The success of Home and School or similar associations is of course a function not only of the nature of the school but also of the community. Communities made up predominantly of transients, childless couples, or of socio-economic extremes are not likely to support an organization traditionally dominated by permanent, middle class residents with small children. A broader conception of education and a different mode of community-education relationship are required for the inclusion of such communities. There is little likelihood that the presently organized home and school programme can be transformed radically enough to meet this requirement.

I have neither the information nor the conviction to conclude that home and school organizations are moribund. Their fund raising activities, volunteer help, political activities in support of education, and their public information services, among other things, suggest that they may, at least in certain localities, be viable and functional in support of Canadian education.[8] It is, however, clear that the movement is fragmented, and the effectiveness of an individual association is dependent on its unique environment. The organization as a whole has little real power, and what it has may be dissipated through competing pressure groups, often with similar general objectives. Much of the effort is superficial in terms of educational policy or even of meaningful community contact. The contact that is developed is confined to parents, often to particular parents, and is further diminished by parental frustration over impersonality and inconsequential action. The organization has been unable to integrate the school into the modern community, largely because the traditional fit of school and community is no longer applicable, and there has been no effective redefinition of this relationship. The refinements of activity and objective, again on the conservative model, have only disguised the need for a reconstructed relationship based on the contemporary situation. With an organizational effort, the lack of applicability stands out more than in the case of the individual contacts discussed previously. The predictable result is that the organization is thinly held together by pockets of self-interest, but is essentially replaced by less formal, more particularistic associations, or by complete withdrawal from organized contact.

Governmental Action and Community Effort

In addition to the actual interaction between parents and school, which constitutes the main contact between school and community in Canada, there are currently two other major modes of encouraging community participation

in Canadian education. These are through direct governmental action and through voluntary community effort.

The first may be illustrated by the recent report of the Worth Commission on education in Alberta, which addressed itself directly to community schools, learning networks, pupil and parent participation, - to the involvement of the poor, the minority groups, the handicapped and disabled - to social communication, life experience, leisure and recreation, environmental education - to curriculum content and manpower requirements appropriate to the specific community served by Alberta schools. Not only were the directions of educational reform apparently geared to community requirements, but the way of achieving reform was to be through democratic choice and extended participation.[9] Although the Worth Report presents a rather dramatic example of government initiative to organize education for better community responsiveness, that initiative and the accompanying language of community involvement is not uncommon in Canadian governmental actions on education.

Examination of the implications of the Report, however, and of the procedures for acting on the recommendations modifies what might seem to be an optimistic picture of educational change for community development.

In the first place, change in education was generalized by the Commission to accord with gross categories of social decision. Basically this boiled down to a choice between a 'second phase industrial society' and a 'person centred society'. As Margaret Gayfer observed:

> The latter is a humanist ideal of a compassionate, concerned, participative, citizenry enlightened by personal social and educative growth . . . . What clod would opt for the authoritarian, conformist, restrictive, hierarchical, industrial model?[10]

Furthermore, the development forecasting for the Alberta economy, to which the educational recommendations were in some way linked, were so loose as to suggest that, if there is indeed a link, it is determined by the vagaries of industrial and governmental decision, and thus may override the 'choice' or participative interests of the people. In fact, both organizational proposals in the Commission's Report and actions of the government subsequent to the publication of the Report, suggest that the major outcome is actually a shift of power to the provincial government, and a tendency for the government to allow social direction to be determined basically by economic interests. In spite of wide publication of the Report within the province, the government call for public response was minimally met,[11] and there was no subsequent publicity given to the public reactions that were forthcoming. The most favourable view of the outcome would be that the Commission affirmed individualist traditions of this region, that these traditions were framed in community terms more appropriate to the modern age and to increasing population growth in the province, that the articulation of community needs to be met through education will legitimate future action in individual school districts, and that increased efficiency in the provincial educational organization will function to the benefit of all the people in the province. If all this is conceded however, it is nevertheless clear that the <u>reconstructive</u> appearance of the plan may be contradicted by a <u>conservative</u> outcome. Further, although there may be gains to the community as a result of this initiative, the gains are not likely to be in participatory action. Government moves are for the community not of the community.

Although this is not necessarily an undesirable attitude on the part of government, and it does not appear to conflict with norms of Canadian social action, it has led to some voluntary attempts to achieve 'grass roots' community involvement in what may be generically called free schools. One of the most accessible illustrations of this kind of action appears in Anthony Burton's book, The Horn and the Beanstalk,[12] in which he attempts to bring 'free school thinking' face to face with free school action. Burton, like some others, apparently came to the imperative of community for the resolution of some fundamental problems in schooling. The trouble with his perception of this need, as with others, is that he attempted to go outside of the reality of modern society and education in order to achieve his goals. Predictably, he was frustrated by the oppression of young radicals and small children, by the mechanics of institutional bureaucracy, and by the authoritarian selfishness of vested interests. His formulation was essentially romantic, resisting the incorporation of education into a modern industrial society through the norms of business, technocracy, and advertising. This universalist romanticism tends to work against specific community development in Canada, and worse, raises the possibility of dysfunctional consequences of looking to the past. Unless we completely dismantle the industrial society, with all that means for human misery as well as for human fulfilment, we are obliged to examine the anticipated results, moral, psychological, and social, of revering unmodernized man in modern society.

The dynamic of tradition and modernization in education is complex, but it is certain that traditions are of some worth and considerable power, and must be built into a reform. Similarly, institutions are means of reconciling 'person orientation' with social organization; our complexity of institutions reflects the effort to manage the interests and requirements of persons in a way that will permit some degree of organization in the society as a whole. Any existent educational institution is necessarily imperfect, but its definition and the system for its operation are determined by the construction and reconstruction of cultural process. It is necessary that present cultural process in Canada, involving industrial and urban development, be identified and acknowledged in educational planning and be reflected in the kinds of community relationship sought by schools.

Taken altogether, the examples of community-school relationship which I have illustrated here might be synthesized into an adequate formulation for the extension of community development in the future. It is no necessary problem that these types are mainly in the conservative mode; it is a problem that they are fragmented, myopic, and representative of particular interest groups. Alternatively, a serious reconstructive effort, not absent from the rhetoric of certain political groups or from the efforts of certain researchers in Canada, would require substantial changes in normative patterns of social and educational action.

Notes

1 Russett, Bruce M., et al., World Handbook of Social and Political Indicators. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964).

2 See Gustavson, Carl G., A Preface to History. (New York; McGraw Hill, 1955), p. 7 and Ch. 7.

3 See Deutsch, Karl W., Nationalism and Social Communication. (M.I.T. Press, 1966).

4 'Country Paper: Canada', presented by the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, to the Sixth Commonwealth Education Conference, June, 1974.

5 Ibid., p. 5.

6 Details of current provincial organization, including the function of such advisory bodies, can be obtained from annual reports issued by each Ministry of Education.

7 It's About Us: Handbook of the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation. (Toronto: Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, 1970), p. 16.

8 Jane Norman, 'Home and School and Parent-Teacher Relationships in Canada'. (unpublished).

9 A Choice of Futures: Report of the Alberta Commission on Educational Planning, chaired by Walter Worth. Edmonton: Queen's Printer for the Province of Alberta, 1972.

10 Canadian University and College, Sept. 1972, p. 26.

11 Department of Education, Province of Alberta. News Release No. 66 Oct. 19, 1972.

12 A. Burton, The Horn and the Beanstalk. Toront: Holt, Rinehart & Winston of Canada, 1972.

5 EDUCATION AND URBANIZATION: AN INSTITUTIONAL BUILDING APPROACH[1]

David Zeldin (Open University, UK)

Introduction

The sectarian war in Belfast; the troubled Algerian and West Indian minorities in Paris and London respectively, the Asian migration in Britain; the South European worker; immigrants in the Common Market: all these are painful European echoes of social pressures already so well documented in the U.S.A. Similarly, there are manifestations of conflict in the competition for scarce resources in housing, employment, recreation and education. There is the move into the suburbs and in some cities the relative depopulation and the changing social composition of the inner areas. The consequences for schooling and educational provision in cities are equally well known.

A challenge for Urban education

A fundamental challenge for education is to design, create and maintain institutions which may help to achieve chosen goals and which seem appropriate for particular urban situations.[2] In this paper the term education institution is used to denote an organization which has a specific location or building, e.g. a nursery, a school, a playground, a youth club, a community project, and so on.

I see my contribution (hopefully) as a preliminary effort to provide tentative framework for analysis and action in the creation and maintenance of educational institutions and their associated educative communities, in different urban situations.

I am aware that analytically there may be a difference between our efforts to improve understanding about institutions and to improve the institutions themselves. However, I believe that in practice these two approaches ought to inform each other. I am, therefore, concerned in this paper with the utilitarian purposes of comparative education and with practical outcomes of research efforts.[3]

An industrial model

There is an increasing volume of argument and opinion which suggests that schools, and more especially urban schools, have been organized and operated along industrial production lines. It is easy enough to find in most urban areas in America and in Britain some schools which in the organization of their activities and regimentation of their human relations resemble industrial plants. (It is less easy but also possible to find urban schools which reflect the joy, purpose and fulfilment of many of the pupils). In addition, it is also widely argued that educational institutions reflect the corporate and bureaucratic character of the industrial societies in which they find themselves. In such societies 'nonkinship and universalistic considerations are of primary significance in the organization of economic, political and other relations'.[4]

The argument is that the schools also tend therefore to employ universalistic defined rules and prescriptions, standardized procedures and a hierarchically organized corps of experts. The schools tend to become skilful in coping with uniform tasks. But they find it difficult to cope with diversity. In such schools the 'education' is sometimes characterized as 'the inculcation of standardized and stereotyped knowledge, skills, values and attitudes by

means of standardized and stereotyped procedures'.[5]

In such a situation a school is said to be 'efficient' and 'functionally operational' so long as the behaviour and the attainment of the staff and the pupils reflect universalistically acceptable norms.

Any failures among staff and pupils to maintain adequate standards, e.g. 'decent behaviour' or an acceptable level of 'academic achievement' are explained either in terms of inadequate organisational structures and operational strategies or in terms of human or environmental deficits. The solutions proposed tend therefore to emphasise investment patterns, staff training, management skills, administrative organisation, curriculum methods, social climate, parent-teacher contacts, and so on.

There may also be attempts to tackle the involvement of pupils and parents in the educational processes, the decentralization of decision making processes, neighbourhood community development, and perhaps housing and employment opportunities.

The way in which the proposals within this ideological framework are formulated, developed and implemented will reflect universalistic assumptions and criteria. Here we find that so long as the ideological premises, basic assumptions, and the organizational structure of the school remain unchallenged, ameliorative and innovative efforts will concentrate upon crisis management and piecemeal reform.

To be sure, partial and piecemeal efforts to improve and adapt urban schools are not necessarily ineffective - indeed in some situations they may be marginally successful. But too often they are introduced into schools without sufficient regard for the complex interaction of different variables in the work of the institution. The introduction of curriculum innovation, for instance, may not only affect parental attitudes and frustrate some classroom teachers, but also perhaps require radical changes in the administrative arrangements and teaching styles. The adoption of a mere partial solution may produce conflict and confusion within the institution.

Slum schools

Thus it may be argued that piecemeal efforts at best are only marginally beneficial and frequently useless. However intense the efforts invested in them, partial piecemeal solutions can never transform the situation in the slum school. Indeed, the resources in most urban schools remain increasingly strained. Many schools can now do no more than engage in a 'day to day holding operation'. The symptoms of the malaise are widely evident: school refusal and truancy, disruptive and disturbing behaviour in classrooms, low reading and mathematical attainments, destruction of school property, teacher shortages, and so on. Some of this behaviour reflects what goes on in the surrounding urban localities and it is hardly surprising that it spills over into the school.

We do know that the situation in inner city areas is more serious and acute than elsewhere. We may also suspect nonetheless that some schools do cope more adequately than other schools with very similar intakes in the same or comparable neighbourhood. We suspect that we know what schools do to kids. But we know little about the mechanisms and process within schools, and even less why some schools differ from others. Moreover our knowledge of schools in urban areas, particularly among the economically deprived, the low skilled, inadequately housed, ethnically diverse populations - is particularly inadequate.

We need to know more about situations in which schools are no longer able to pursue acceptable objectives, i.e. acceptable to administrators and teachers on one hand, and pupils, parents and the local community on the other hand. But also perhaps what may be more illuminating: the ways in which in very similar areas on the one hand some schools decline, abandon their 'universalistic objectives and functions', and turn into 'rubbish dumps' while on the other hand other schools mobilize their resources, and turn in an upward spiral, towards continued success.

School as a working unit

There are of course those who have argued that the educational institutions resemble an organic unit and that institutions ought to be seen and tackled as a whole. Thus, for instance, Waller (1932) had long ago argued that people 'in the school are bound together in an organic relation. The life of the whole is in all its parts, yet the whole could not exist without any of its parts'. Waller stressed the importance of the relationship of the school with the people in its environment. 'The organism as an entirety is nourished by the community'.[6]

Buckley has provided a conceptual model of organisations which incorporates interactive behaviour and is open to adaptation and change. Here we find an emphasis on the importance of the interrelationships of the different parts of the system to the total environment - external and internal. The school and its total environment may thus be seen as 'a complex adaptive system....open 'internally' as well as externally in that the interchanges among their components may result in significant changes in the nature of the components themselves with important consequences for the system as a whole'. The school may thus be regarded as a

> 'unit of dynamic analysis (which) becomes the systematic matrix of interacting, goal-seeking, deciding individuals and subgroups.... a continuous morphogenic process, through which we may come to understand in a unified conceptual manner the development of structures, their maintenance, and their change. And it is important to recognize that out of this matrix is generated, not only social structure, but also personality structure, and meaning structure. All, of course, are intimately inter-related in the morphogenic process, and are only analytically separable'.[7]

More recently, Janowitz (1969) has proposed a somewhat similar systems analysis: an aggregative model of organizational change in educational institutions. The model is concerned with the total situation of the institution, and with the influence of separate variables (both internal and external), their interaction, and their aggregative impact and efficacy.[8]

The thrust of the current C.E.R.I. project on the Creativity of the School seems to be much in the same direction. The smallest organic unit is considered to be the 'school - not the individual teacher or his class'.[9]

The aim is to help the school respond to the demands of society, and deal with new practices to help it to provide a 'selective and discriminating response to change'. There is considerable stress in the report on the need to help to 'improve the capacity of the school itself to deal with change'[10] and to help it to 'deal with new practices'.[11] (My emphasis)

The project team identified '15 factors affecting the creativity of the school'.[12] But

'to propose a single model for structuring these various factors and their relationships - a mega-solution for all countries - is impossible on account of the multiplicity of variation in local characteristics. All that can be done is to create something appropriate to a specific national context at a known point in time'.[13]

Instead the factors were grouped into clusters for the purpose of the analysis as follows:

(i) the administrative relationships between the school and outside institutions;

(ii) the organisation and relationships within the school;

(iii) professional support to the school from outside;

(iv) interventions for strengthening the school's creativity (e.g. in-service training and Organisation Development in the sense of Schmuck's definition);

(v) the influence of the school's environment.[14]

There is, however, no extensive (say chapter length) discussion of the influences in the school's environment in the papers which have been published in the Creativity of the School. It is a regrettable gap.

I have already indicated the project co-ordinators' reluctance to consider 'the multiplicity of variation in local characteristics'. In an introductory paper Professor Nisbet recognises the importance of 'the whole social context, the climate of opinion within a country, the social and political structures and the less tangible but not less important cultural norms'.[15]

A comparative perspective

Professor Nisbet believes that in 'discussing educational issues we tend to reject the solutions of others because they do not fit readily into our framework of thought'. He does, however, maintain that 'one function of education is to liberate us from the limitations of our experience, but we have not yet worked out an effective language for discussing educational problems across the boundaries of national systems'.[16]

Professor Nisbet goes on:

'The question that arises is this: are there generally valid answers which apply across the boundaries of educational systems and differing cultures, or must we seek a different set of answers within each system? Though the answers may be different, they may follow a common pattern. Inevitably, this pattern tends to be general and abstract and consequently it is difficult to communicate the conclusions to teachers and administrators whose orientation is highly practical and not theoretical'.

My view is that it is not the generalizations and abstractions which teachers and administrators find difficult to follow. Indeed most of them are well versed in the academic ways of interpreting the world. Rather too often practitioners and the wider public believe that academic explanations (and predictions) incorporate in insufficient detail the complexities of their situation. The academic explanations do not appear to them to be grounded in the everyday experience of teachers, pupils, parents or

administrators. I think that many practitioners are also disappointed with some of the literature in comparative education. Many of these same people do find foreign visits, discussion with foreign nationals, extremely illuminating, yet, despite this fact, comparative education theory and explanation has failed to catch the imagination of many of those who are looking elsewhere, often across national boundaries, for an improved understanding of their own problems and for help in the formulation of solutions.

Perhaps comparative education at least in Britain and in America has unduly concentrated upon continental and national systems, national ideologies, major cultures, and so on. Such approaches provide only limited understanding. They tend to rely upon generalizations, without sufficient concern for the details. I do not oppose abstract and general explanations. Indeed, as I hope my introductory discussion showed, such a discussion may be useful. But they do tend to mask the wide diversities within the systems and cultures.

However, even more important, such formulation may provide a somewhat limited basis for the formulation of policy. It tends to formulate questions and solutions which cannot easily guide those involved in grass-root levels of school administration and practice.[17] It tends to reify the situation. Other starting points are also required. We need not only national but also many more regional and individual institutional studies.

I am among those who argue that the problem approach still provides the most productive framework in comparative education for developing social science based (interdisciplinary) investigations with practical outcomes. The thrust of the problem approach is towards the creation of an applied discipline; a methodology capable of helping educators and others identify and articulate their problems, formulate approximate goals, and evaluate alternative solutions.[18] I think that in its applicability and in practice the problem approach is a flexible method. The practitioner using a problem approach will be involved in both reflection and action. He/she can stand aside analyse and suggest alternative courses of action as well as help implement desired solutions. He/she can be both detached and involved.

The reliability of his/her prediction will depend, however, upon certain assumptions about the responses of different participants in the particular situation. But some of these participants are active agents and may themselves change over time. What the problem approach cannot also easily do in practice is take into account changes within the situation under consideration. What seems to be required is not merely an initial prediction but also a continuing monitoring and assessment of the interaction of developments within and without the situation.

A basis for choice

As we have seen, it is useful to see the school, as Buckley does, as a complex adaptive system. More so in the urban situation, since a basic and continuing issue in urban schools is one of adaptation. There is the pressure on the school to meet changing and conflicting needs of the pupils. There is also constant pressure - internally from pupils and some teachers, externally from parents and the local community - to change its forms and arrangements, so that the needs of pupils are met in ways which are more acceptable to them and to the local community. There is also the wide criticism we have seen that many schools tend to reflect an industrial ethos

while denying urban and technological values. They appear designed to prepare pupils for an industrial and bureaucratic future. Moreover, in particularly urban schools there is a wide gulf between the social realities inside and the world outside. The argument here is that schools should incorporate rather than reject technological and urban phenomena.

The argument here is also that there are groups within the schools who have 'the power of structural initiation'. The distribution of this power within the school is of course uneven. Who has this power varies with the institution and across nations. The power holders are labelled here for convenience 'institution builders'. They can make 'strategic choices' particularly 'choosing structural arrangements that will better satisfy the priorities of those in charge of organisations, or indeed of any interested party'.[19]

It is important to recognise, however, that 'strategic choice' is 'an essential political process in which constraints and opportunities are functions of the power exercised by decision-makers in the light of ideological values'.[20] It is possible to find of course many explanations in organizational theory that tend to over-emphasise the constraint upon that choice. There is an urgent need, as Child (1972) has argued, to revise these theoretical perspectives and to shake off what Gouldner (1955) noted some 20 years ago: 'the metaphysical pathos of much of the modern theory of group organisation....that of pessimism and fatalism'.[21]

I think too that we tend to be more depressed than perhaps we need to be. The C.E.R.I. report is certainly optimistic. It does contain a strong belief that schools can be helped to make their own considered choices. The institution builders who must make these strategic choices require preferably an optimum level of information. First, they need to know something about the views, perspectives, aspirations and so on, of different groups in the locality of the school. Secondly, they need to know something about ways in which schools may make use of its urban environment and involve its local community. A knowledge of 'deschooling' is useful. But even more important is the idea of 'reschooling' - retaining the institutional framework, but making greater use of community resources.[22]

Thirdly, there is need to know more about the changing meaning and structure of the urban community. And, finally, institution builders require a theory of urban schooling. A preliminary step towards such a theory is the development of typologies which identify the relevant factors in any process of urban schooling. The typology should provide a framework for analysis, help identify problems and the generation of hypotheses. It may improve our understanding of urban schooling and help institution builders to know more about each of these issues and to develop appropriate goals, structures, and strategies.

I can, however, only discuss each of these issues very briefly here.

Interpreting the situation

A way into the understanding of any situation, for practitioners and theorists alike, is through an appreciation of the views and activities of those involved in it.[23]

Recent developments in what is variously known as ethnomethodology, phenomenological sociology or sociology of everyday life have reminded us that individuals and groups may define the same situation in radically different ways. These differences are exacerbated in the urban situation.

Indeed, the realities of the urban situations - variations in values, beliefs, and aspirations, cultural diversity, differences in housing provision, employment opportunities, and so on - generate a wide range of interpretations and responses in different people.

Hence it is important that we examine how different groups involved in the process of analysis, policy making and action in urban areas view the situation of school and community. It may be useful if these varying perceptions are examined in terms of at least three standpoints or levels:

1 policy and planning

2 policy implementation and institutional management

3 delivery of educational services and contact with grass-root/face to face groups in the locality

There are broadly five groups who may be involved in the work of schools. They are the academics, the professionals, the policy makers, the local community and the public. Each group will generate its own separate perspectives or ideologies. These perspectives include ways of conceiving man and society, societal objectives, prescriptions about behaviour and so on. The academics are primarily concerned with explanation and understanding. The other groups are more concerned with practical outcomes.

Clearly there is the problem of the different categories understanding and reconciling each others' perspectives. Moreover, different groups within each category may share a mutual concern about education but within each category there will be varied and sometimes conflicting interpretations and proposed solutions.

Academics

There are many starting points in any analysis of the urban situation and of urban schooling. Some of these approaches have been labelled, ecological, pathological, institution building, psychological, and so on. Each approach in its own way attempts an interpretation of selected aspects of the everyday world.

The particular disciplinary, scientific or ideological base of the academics governs their selection of what they consider interesting and relevant, and broadly defines the objectives and methodology they use and the kind of knowledge they bring to bear upon the issue. They identify problems and analyse and perhaps resolve them, as far as they are able, within the terms of their particular 'scientific' sub-culture. Their mode of reflection offers a perspective on the world with its own cognitive style. They are involved in a search for solutions but these are likely to be 'scientific' or academic solutions, rather than practical ones.

The professionals

It is important to distinguish between those working at national, city or school levels. The perspectives here are those of a 'professional' interpretation of the practical everyday world. Clearly it is necessary to explicate the basis and the functions of professionalism as professionals and other groups see them, the attitudes of different groups of professionals to each other and to other non-professional groups. Other questions that may be raised will include: How do they interpret their tasks? How do they define service to the public? Who controls them? What is their attitude to clients?

The policy makers

Although professionals may guide and even shape policy, the ultimate decisions on general strategies and on resource provision are made by elected representatives at both national and local government levels. Their perspective is generally a non-professional one compounded of ideology, common-sense and everyday experience. They will operate within constraints of limited resources and enforced priorities and their views may well be at variance both with those of their professional advisers and sections of the communities they serve.

The local community

The residents in the local community-representing themselves as tenants, house-owners, community organizers, parents, workers, shoppers, and so on - will have their own interpretation of the everyday world, including that of the school. Here it is useful to identify, where possible, the representatives (if any) of geographical and interest communities in the neighbourhood, and to explore the social organization in the locality including the horizontal and vertical linkages of selected local groups. It is also necessary to explore what they define as knowledge, and how they view the contributions of those working in the town hall, local agencies, voluntary organizations, and so on. It may also be interesting to find in what circumstances and how often a community is asked to define its own problems?

Public

Finally, there is the common sense everyday world viewpoint. At the public or local level it is expressed as public or local opinion, at the individual level it is described as a common sense, or intuitive approach. Here the dangers of stereotyping, typification and false generalization are evident and ought to be avoided.

It is important, of course, to examine how in any particular situation the views of these people are mediated into the school system. In general terms the values, ideologies and structures of national political, economic, social, and educational 'societal institutions' will help shape what goes on in the local school. The national organization of the education system, the established norms and procedures, will also help determine the way in which individual schools will be allowed to cope with national and local influences and pressure groups, with pupils and parents. The circumstances in the different localities, i.e. the conditions of housing, work and leisure, the relations between families and neighbours, communication and migration patterns, educational and occupational aspirations, and so on, will give each locality its own individual characteristics.

It is, therefore, important to consider the vertical links which a school may maintain with the central administration and with other national organizations. Equally important are the horizontal links which the school may use to foster or to limit its ties with and involvement in the local community.

Approaches to the Community

The schools tend to use three broad ways in which to relate with the local community: the 'closed', the 'open' and the 'balanced' door approaches.[24] A school may adopt a 'locked door' approach, excluding as far as it is able outside influences and minimizing as far as possible interference from home

and neighbourhood. The aim here is to maximize the functional autonomy of the school. Horizontal links with parents and other local people are minimal. Vertical links with educational authorities, professional associations, universities and other forms of higher education are more likely to be strong and encouraged. The school can only pursue a 'closed door' approach, however, when parents, pupils, and community support its goals and recognize its competence to attain them, or when parents, pupils or community are too weak to challenge them. The school has, therefore, in order to maintain its 'closed door' policy, to balance its goals to maintain maximum autonomy and isolation, but at the same time to gain the effective co-operation of pupils, parents and others in the community.

On the other hand, the school may adopt an 'open door' approach which encourages a close association with parents and other local people. The aim here is to maximize its involvement with formal and informal social groups in the locality. The approach is designed to mobilize family, peer groups and neighbourhood groups in the work of the school. A middle way, seeks to balance integration and isolation. This approach aims to avoid first, an excessive integration of school and community which may, on the one hand, prove to be parochial and stultifying and, on the other, may threaten professional standards; and second, to avoid undue isolation which may prevent the interchange of ideas and mutual understanding.

The location, type of building and the available educational equipment and resources do influence the ways in which any school may develop its links with the local community. I will discuss three broad alternative approaches: 'campus based', 'school/locality' and 'learning networks'.

The campus based approach

A school may isolate its activities on an educational campus. Here an 'open door' policy will invite and encourage parents and local people to visit the school, attend lectures/plays, perhaps help with after-school activities, and maybe to assist in the classrooms.

The school may also open its physical and teaching facilities (e.g. art, music, handicraft, sports) to parents and other local people. The school may thus become an education and community centre for interested people in the locality. The activities of the school, however, effectively remain within the confines of the campus. The Stantonbury Campus in Milton Keynes and the Cheetham/Crumpsall Campus in Manchester are two interesting English examples.

School/locality approach

A school may have some of its activities in the locality. The pupils may go into the neighbourhood to study and perhaps work in different factories, social agencies, offices, hospitals, old peoples' homes, and private homes. In these settings, the pupils may have their own contribution to make and so the activities become more meaningful for them. Thus, the school/locality approach may not only use local facilities to teach its pupils, but also to contribute to the development of the neighbourhood.

Learning networks

The aim here is to revitalize and use the learning potential of the industrial, service and recreation sectors of the city to create a learning milieu. It is hoped that in this milieu a relevant and open form of education may be established. These ideas find most cogent expression

in the work of Coleman, Gambert and Illich. The development of learning or educational networks are still in their early stages.

The pupils involved are very few in number, but the significance of the development lies in the pioneering of new forms of learning and involvement for young people in the urban context. The difficulties of introducing large numbers of young people as observer/participants into offices, factories and so on (perhaps a modern and urban version of the medieval apprentice) need to be solved. More importantly, however, the attitudes of employers and the work force need to be changed so that the wider community accepts responsibility for a direct involvement in the education of its children.

The meaning and structure of community

These approaches raise issues about the meaning of community. In its everyday usage the utopian moral overtones, the normative imperatives of community remain. Community expresses a version of what might be. There is also a sense in which community is used to imply a contrast between what society ought to be like with the realities of what it is like. We tend to use community to describe good and valued things like community service, community health, community school. We associate the term with (usually) locally based activities which are useful and consistent with dominant social values and purposes. In this latter sense, the use of community may also emphasise purposive group solidarity and the pursuit of communally shared goals.

In the urban situation, two important factors have influenced methods of involving the community; the location of power, and the emergence of different interest communities in the urban world.

Power over daily lives of people is increasingly removed from the locality. The forces which shape and dominate the lives of people are central government policies regarding housing, employment, transportation, and shopping and recreation facilities. The quality of life in the neighbourhood is a function not so much of the residents' own choices but of decisions which others make. Local kinship relationships, friendship networks, and voluntary associations may help access and attachment but it is the processes of allocation and distribution of housing, employment, and education facilities in the locality which are crucial. The values, interest, knowledge and skill of local people may help them identify communal needs and articulate demands, but these needs must find a response in the wider society if they are to be met. In a largely corporate state, it is the bureaucratic and industrial power in mass society which influences the vitality of local community and indeed, as I shall argue, helps create community.

Another important factor is that community is no longer a unitary concept. In the contemporary urban situation community can no longer be associated exclusively with either territorial or moral considerations. Indeed if we accept Chombard de Lauwe's approach then we find within any modern city innumerable groups pursuing a wide diversity of interests. Some groups will be located in identifiable ecological areas and niches, in the specific behavioural settings of the commercial, industrial, and residential worlds; other groups will be city wide, for instance, the political parties, cycling clubs, women's liberation, and so on. Thus in any urban situation most people will be members of several communities. Thus a young boy might belong to his school community, be a member of a

neighbourhood gang, the local Roman Catholic church, the city-wide Irish community, etc. and (less directly) the European Economic Community and the world community.

The use of the concept involves therefore accepting that there may be as many 'interest communities' in urban localities as there are sets of interests or activities.

In the modern urban world, not all folk are 'unattached lonely people', not all social relations are always impersonal, utilitarian, superficial, fleeting. Primary relations also do frequently flourish. Indeed interest groups may generate relationships, social bonds, or a sense of community which is 'characterised by a high degree of personal intimacy, emotional depth, moral commitment, social cohesion, and continuity in time'. But in the modern urban society, such relationships intense and real though they may be, tend also to be 'plural' and 'limited in liability'.

In the urban situation, the complex organization of modern communities is a product of mass society. Meadows has characterised 'a mass society of modern man as a product of four major technologies.. The industrial technology of massed mechanization ... The political technology of centralized government ... The social technology of urbanization and commercialization ... The psychological technology of mass-mediated communication ...'[25]

Communities are units which come into being through their recognition of the implication of this mass society. People get into communities and organize themselves in groups in order to improve their access into the mass society to acquire increased shares of the benefits. As Suttles has suggested, community is not a little society but a form of social differentiation within total societies. In modern urban society, community is best envisaged as 'a response of people to their environment rather than as a vestigal remnant of a more fragmented and localized society'.[26] Wilensky and Lebeaux express the point, thus:

> 'In the city there is not only the opportunity, there is also the necessity. Special interests of people are expressed and become effective only through deliberate organization. You organize or you perish'.[27]

But of course, it is the more knowledgeable, skilful, motivated, resourceful people who are, to say the least, more successful.

Thus community provides a basis for association. Community can also be an object of bureaucratic interest. I have already mentioned that, for instance, health, housing, and educational agencies may help to create and foster interest communities, vide the numerous projects and programmes in community care, community mental health, community housing, community education, community schooling, etc. Industrial, commercial and social welfare organizations - statutory and voluntary - are all usually involved in some way in local communities. Their purpose is, of course, the promotion of their interests. These organizations, however, now avoid dominating local communities. They are usually only concerned with influencing outcomes which are likely to enhance their servicing potential in the city.

It may also be argued that the school too defines community in its own way. The purposes and arrangements within each school broadly define who is to be involved in the different activities. The school usually seeks to

establish linkages and gatekeeping mechanisms which seek to create a selected community to suit its own purposes. As I have explained elsewhere:

> 'I have chosen to call the individuals and groups who are involved in the activities of an institution its educative community. Most urban localities will have a number of educational institutions, e.g. nurseries, primary and secondary schools, youth clubs. Each institution will serve a different section of the population, and each will therefore develop its own educative community. It is likely, of course, that some individuals will be associated with more than one educational institution. Therefore, in terms of the definition here, they will be members of more than one educative community.
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> 'The concept of an educative community provides a focus for analysis of the educational potential of its membership. It is important to distinguish between the current active membership and the potential membership of any particular educative community. It helps to identify individuals and groups who are already involved in, or who might contribute to, the work of educational institutions in the future.'[28]

How far a school may succeed in creating an active educative community depends upon the situation in the neighbourhood. It also depends upon its capacity to generate support within the school (among teachers and pupils) and in the neighbourhood (among parents, community leaders, residents, employers, politicians, and so on).

Towards a theory of urban schooling

Normative theories are concerned with prescribing rules and forms which may help achieve desired outcomes. There are sociological or institutional theories which are concerned with clarifying and (as far as possible) tentatively predicting the conditions in which certain activities may flourish (or decline). The diversity and rapidity of change has undermined much of the relevance of a descriptive approach in urban education. Descriptive theories may help improve our understanding of the way in which things have happened. A problem approach is, however, especially relevant here, since, as Holmes has argued, 'it implies that understanding of social and educational processes comes from successful prediction rather than, as in some epistemologies, through the discovery of antecedent causes'.[29]

I wish to argue therefore that a theory of urban schooling should be both prescriptive and predictive. Prescriptive in the sense that it sets out the forms and arrangements which may help attain chosen objectives. Predictive in the sense that it may help establish the kinds of conditions (and situations) in which an institution may achieve a given (not necessarily 100%) rate of success. As a preliminary effort it seems desirable to develop a systematic framework or typology of elements or variables or factors which would adequately define and take account of the normative and organizational differences within national educational systems. It should also take account of the technological and urban influences in a variety of urban situations.[30]

The development of such frameworks, typologies, or models is difficult. One difficulty is that elements/variables/factors which may be included in the framework and which appear important at a local level are sometimes 'lost' in the broader national system of accounting and social indicators.

It is also likely that some influential factors in the development of urban schooling in one context may be insignificant in another. But any relevant typology for the development of a theory of urban schooling which may be of use in more than one situation, should be sufficiently flexible in its application to take account of the particular circumstances in any urban locality.

Technological and urban influences

I have summarized elsewhere[31] what I consider to have been the most important technological and urban influences in the development of urban schools. (Clearly any preliminary effort provides only one way of organizing information.) Briefly, the technological influences in the locality of the school include the means of production, the manpower distribution, communications and travel, migration, industrial and post-industrial values. Also in a few words, local urban influences which require analysis include the actual and potential membership of the educative community, educative resources in and around the neighbourhood, the demography of the locality, kinship and social networks, peer groups, community associations, employment and housing. The typology should also provide, as I have already argued, for an analysis of the views and perceptions of local individuals and groups of their own environment.

Here I do not have the space to discuss how objectives may be chosen or who ought to choose them. It may be sufficient to emphasise that schools are increasingly required to meet more and conflicting demands. Indeed, it may be as Fein has suggested that the crisis in schooling is about objectives rather than performance. Chosen objectives in any one school should not be allowed to undermine each other. Hence the importance of institutional forms and arrangements which will sustain the desired process and outcomes. However where conflict between objectives is inevitable perhaps they ought to be pursued in separate institutions.

The objectives of the school

A typology of educational objectives will be necessary. It is important, of course, to be clear what the chosen objectives of a school may be. Even more important is to know whose objectives they are.

It is useful to distinguish between 'content' and 'process' objectives. Content objectives may be specific or general. Specific content objectives may be concerned with teaching of reading mathematics, manipulative skills. General content objectives may be concerned with welfare and pastoral care, citizenship education, community service. Process objectives are concerned with the qualitative functioning of the institution, with the generation of motivation, relationships, social climates.

Structures and strategies

Another important source of influence and one which, as I have suggested, is much more amenable to change are the structures and strategies which schools develop to attain their goals.

An important section of the typology will include elements or variables in the organizational structures and operational strategies. Briefly, the elements which describe the structure of any organization will include authority structure, division of labour, interpersonal relations, performance guides. Similarly, operational strategies may be defined in

terms of classroom management, teaching style, learning theories, investment patterns, motivation, control of deviant behaviour.[32]

Each of these elements may be described in ideal type terms. Thus, for instance, we may describe a 'hierarchical' or 'collegial' authority structure; 'a priori' or 'self-determining' performance guides, 'coercive and utilitarian' or 'psychiatric and psychological' strategies for the control of deviant behaviour. It may also be possible to 'measure' any of these elements along a continuum.

The elements provide a framework in which differentiated and varied types of structures may be generated. Thus, for instance, briefly and in general terms, Bernstein's 'closed' school, or Litwak and Meyer's bureaucratic or rationalistic model may be identified in terms of a hierarchical authority structure, specialized division of labour, impersonal relations, a priori rules. It is a characterization reminiscent of the organization in old English elementary schools. Similarly, Bernstein's 'Open' school or Litwak and Meyer's Human Relations model may be characterized in terms of individual teaching and group work, team teaching, stress on human growth, and normative rewards types of strategies.

These typologies may help institution builders develop structures and strategies appropriate for special circumstances of their situation. It is also very important that the objectives, structures, and strategies in any individual school are congruent and mutually supportive of the chosen objectives. A campus based school whose aim is to pursue an 'open' door policy is more likely to succeed with structures and strategies which facilitate an interchange with parents and local people. The types of linkages between school and community will vary with the values, attitudes, knowledge, skills, motivation, and resources of the different groups with which contact is desired. Clearly linkages with supportive homes, with families who provide an educative environment, with pressures exerted in the same direction as in the school, will be mainly concerned with maintaining interest and developing the competences of the family. Linkages with families who are uncertain about the values of the school and who have insufficient knowledge and skill to help their children will necessarily concentrate on encouraging the parents and helping them understand and, if necessary, criticise the ways of the school.

Analysis and action

The development of typologies will provide a basis for analysis and action. Typologies help identify the elements in any school situation. They also provide a framework for comparison. But it is the understanding of cultural traditions, teacher training, community values and attitudes, available resources, and so on, in any given situation which suggests which of the factors is considered important and which may be varied or changed. A theory of urban schooling may provide an indication of the consequences of any attempted intervention, variation or change.

The important contributions of Holmes, Janowitz, Litwak and Meyer, among others, provide foundations for a theory or urban schooling. The development of a theory of schooling is still in an early stage of discovery; the period of verification has yet to come. It is, of course, important that verification is pursued in different situations. It is, however, difficult to compare individual schools because of the understandable reluctance of heads and teachers to co-operate. It is often even more difficult to do so in the same neighbourhood. Yet it is known

that in some neighbourhoods different schools have significantly higher attainment levels, lower truancy and delinquency rates.

Conclusion

A study of problem solving, aggregative approaches in school will be a complex task. The concept is a relatively new one. It requires of heads more comprehensive managerial skills and of teachers flexible attitudes and perhaps improved teaching skills. There may also be resistance in the community. But what is much more of a practical problem is to find schools pursuing problem solving, aggregative approaches. There is little research to guide us. But it is very likely that most development and innovation in schools is still piecemeal and fragmented. It may be that the C.E.R.I. project will encourage problem solving approaches in the school. It may also generate comparative research. We know a great deal about why fragmentary innovative planned changes in schools have been (and may be) resisted and neglected. We know less about the self-generating institutional process of adaptation in face of internal and external pressure.

An important contribution of any comparative research would be to explain different ways in which schools articulate and implement their objectives, and develop and maintain appropriate structures and strategies. Additionally, we may improve our understanding of the influence of national culture and tradition in a changing technological and urban situation.

References

1 I am very much indebted to the work of Brian Holmes, Morris Janowitz, Eugene Litwak and Henry Meyer. I should also like to thank Professor Brian Holmes for much encouragement and helpful advice over many years. I alone am responsible, however, for the interpretations and errors in this paper.

2 I have drawn heavily upon my contribution to the Open University 3rd level course in Urban Education, see Education in Urban Communities, E351 Block 4, Open University Press, 1974.

3 See, for instance, Brian Holmes, 'Social Change and the Curriculum' in The Year Book of Education, 1958, who explains that comparative education should help in 'the formulation of realistic policies so that aims might be achieved, undesirable consequences avoided and subsequent developments anticipated', (p.376); see also Edmund J. King, 'The Purpose of Comparative Education', Comparative Education (1965), Vol.1(3), pp.147-159, where King says that 'the implicit purpose of all our work is to be useful in the transformation of human society'. (p.148).

4 Y.A. Cohen 'The shaping of Mens Minds: Adaptations to Imperatives of Culture' in M.L. Wax, et al., Anthropological Perspectives on Education, Basic Books, 1971, p.36.

5 Ibid, p.22.

6 Willard WILLARD, The Sociology of Teaching, 1932, (Wiley Science Edition, 1965), p.6.

W. Buckley, 'Society as a complex adaptive system', in W. Buckley, (ed), Modern Systems Research for the Behavioural Scientist Aldine, 1968, pp.490-492.

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10 ibid, pp. 18 and 19.

11 ibid, p.11.

12 ibid, p.13. These include resources, training, employment, staff skills, appointment and evaluation of staff, professional support, relations with administrative outside bodies, attitudes to innovation, organization within the school, authority relationships, expectations and concern for education.

13 ibid p.14.

14 ibid p.14.

15 ibid p.15.

16 ibid p.34.

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27 H. Wilensky and C.H. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare 1958, Free Press, 2nd ed., 1965, p.119.

28 Education in Urban Communities, 1974, p.21.

29 Holmes, 1965, p.34.

30 cf Holmes and Robinsohn, 1963, p.25.
Brian Holmes has recently been engaged in developing this area of research. His work, supported by an S.S.R C. research grant, will be published in the near future. Undoubtedly it will provide a basic reference for research and development workers. I must emphasise that the ideas here are derived in discussion with Professor Holmes and members of his Advanced Studies Seminar at London University. The responsibility for interpretations and errors is, of course, mine.

31 Education in Urban Communities, 1974, p.24 ff.

32 Cf. Litwak and Meyer 1965, Janowitz, 1969, passim. See also E. Litwak and H.J. Meyer, School, family and neighbourhood: the theory and practice of school-community relations, Columbia University Press 1974.

6 SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY : CONCEPTS OF TERRITORY AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

Raymond Ryba (Manchester)

The notion of 'teritory' in relation to educational phenomena is properly part of the subject matter of the geography of education, a subject of study concerning whose potential value, and actual neglect, I have written about elsewhere.[1] What is important in the context of the 'School and Community' debate is that 'territory' is an essential attribute of the notion of 'community', albeit one which is often ignored in discussions of its relationship with education. Communities extend in space and occupy territory in ways which should not be ignored. It is therefore the contention of this paper that consideration of different aspects of the 'territory' concept as it pertains to education adds a useful new dimension to the current debate on the school and community relationship. To support this contention, the paper seeks to explore some implications of two such aspects: (1) the 'spatial distribution of educational phenomena, and (2) the related notions of 'location' and 'catchment'.

The spatial distribution of educational phenomena

The analysis of spatial distribution patterns of educational phenomena presents the researcher with a number of difficult problems. Of these the two most important groups concern the nature and validity of available data, and problems of methodology and conceptual meaning.

As regards the first of these groups of problems, it is important to recognise that appropriate statistics relating to educational data are as yet hardly ever collected for the specific purpose of educational research. Their availability for this purpose is generally a by-product of their collection for some other routine reason. Often their collection takes place on the basis of administrative sub-divisions and considerations not solely, if at all, related to the educational researchers' needs. These reasons alone make what is available for analysis less than ideal. The validity of what becomes available is not always clear. When it is clear, it is not always very satisfactory. It is possible to believe that stated figures for some countries owe more to the imagination of the compiler than to what is actually to be found on the ground.

Even where data has been carefully compiled, definitional categories may be ambiguous and capable of interpretation in different ways. This is especially so when they are applied to data derived from different countries. Terms like 'primary' and 'secondary', for example, can encompass quite different things in different countries, with the result that statistics apparently referring to the same category of phenomena cannot really be satisfactorily compared. Thus, in Britain in the early sixties, the Robbins Report on Higher Education showed that comparisons between numbers of students in higher education in Britain with those in other European countries could be particularly misleading: whereas British students, once accepted into higher education, generally completed their degree studies. Those in many other countries did not do so.[2] Again, British students usually completed their courses in the minimum time allowed. In some other countries this rarely happened. Consequently the ratio of total number of students to students completing their studies was significantly different in Britain from that elsewhere. Comparison of raw numbers in higher education therefore, understated the comparative ranking of British output and efficiency at this level.

No doubt such difficulties help to explain, at least in part, why the work so far done on territorial analysis of educational phenomena has been so limited. Nevertheless, while the results of such analysis must clearly be viewed with great caution, enough statistical material is rapidly becoming available, and enough value can be discerned in its analysis, to make it worth rather more attention than it has so far received.

The most striking fact to emerge from such studies as have been made - and therefore the one on which this section concentrates - is the extreme inequality of territorial distribution of almost every educational phenomena which is measured. Moreover this can be demonstrated very clearly at different scales of analysis, e.g. international, national, regional and local.

At the international level, for example, Unesco statistics, available through its yearbook of educational statistics,[3] enable a number of comparisons to be made which reveal the starkest inequalities both in the provision and output of their education systems and in the resultant stocks of educated manpower. At this level of comparison, of course, available statistics are most likely to suffer from the various deficiencies mentioned above. Thus differences between figures for particular countries are sometimes rather meaningless, even deceiving. Nevertheless other variations are so dramatic that the order of their values, if not the actual figures, clearly swamp the statistical significance of their margins of error. Adult literacy rates as between countries at different levels of development are a well known example of this (Table 1).[4]

The possibilities of international analysis on the basis of world-wide collections of statistics, such as those of Unesco, are increasingly being supplemented by those based on collections for regional groupings of countries. Such figures, although still of suspect validity, are often more valid for comparative purposes than world-wide collections. Often they also refer to a wider range of parameters. In Europe, for example, both the Council of Europe[5] and OECD[6] are beginning to make such statistics available. These too reveal great territorial inequalities. To be sure, literacy rates and enrolment rates for compulsory schooling are both much higher than world averages, and relatively uniform as compared with other continental regions. Nevertheless, when one looks at statistics for pre- and post-compulsory schooling, great variations again begin to be evident.

Table 1 Adult Literacy Rates around 1970 (in 000's).

Area	Adult Population 15+	Percentage Illiterate
World Total (1)	2,287,000	34.2
Africa	194,000	73.7
North America	161,000	1.5
Latin America	163,000	23.6
Asia	1,237,000	46.8
Europe and USSR	521,000	3.6
Oceania	13,200	10.3
Arab States (2)	68,300	73.0

Source UNESCO

(1) Not including mainland China, N. Korea, N. Vietnam

(2) The Arab States are also included in figures for Africa and Asia

Table 2 Full time enrolment rates for children aged 15-18 in selected European Countries (c.1970), (per cent of population enrolled).

Austria	31.9	Luxembourg	37.4
Belgium	54.2	Netherlands	52.5
Denmark	51.7	Norway (b)	68.9
Finland	47.4	Portugal	24.5
France	54.3	Spain	26.7
Germany (a)	30.5	Sweden	68.1
Greece	44.7	Switzerland	62.6
Ireland	47.0	U.K.	39.4
Italy	30.8	Yugoslavia	36.6

Source OECD, Educational Statistical Yearbook, Vol. 1, Paris 1974.

(a) Excludes part-time compulsory vocational schools.

(b) Includes a small number of post time pupils.

Consider, for example, Table 2. This shows full-time enrolment rates in selected European countries for the 15-18 age group in about 1970. The actual comparability of some of the statistics, certainly requires qualification.[7] Nevertheless it can hardly be argued convincingly, either that the large variations evident in these figures are entirely meaningless, or that they do not in any way reflect real differences in attitudes to education and in the social contexts of the different countries concerned. Notice at least deserves to be paid to these territorial variations, even if the only immediate product were to be a reconsideration of their basis.

Confirmation of the validity of concepts of territorial inequality of education revealed by such international comparison is offered by a consideration of regional patterns of educational phenomena within individual nations. As one moves down the scale of the territorial hierarchy, from inter-country to intra-country comparison, there is improvement in the validity of comparison. This is both because of increasing homogeneity of definition of the phenomena being compared and because of increasing homogeneity of the social context. Legal frameworks for example, and the political and economic background, within which education takes place are usually common. It is therefore all the more significant that intra-regional analyses of educational phenomena in one country after another show similarly wide disparities to those revealed at international level. In developed countries for example, studies in France,[8] the U.S.A.,[9] the Netherlands,[10] Great Britain,[11] Germany,[12] and Austria,[13] reveal regional differences not only in the take-up of pre- or post-compulsory education, but also in the quantity and quality of teachers, and in the attainments of pupils and students. There is, additionally, evidence, at least in some countries, of persistence, through time, in these patterns of inequality.[14]

Given the degrees of inequality revealed in the relatively developed countries of Europe, it is hardly surprising that studies in less developed countries, for example, Mexico,[15] East Africa,[16] and Thailand,[17] reveal even greater and more fundamental territorial inequalities.

The level of regional analysis in most of the studies referred to above is essentially that of comparison of available statistics at the top-tier,

regional, level of administrative units, e.g. Departments, States, Provinces, Counties, Länder, etc. It is, however, sometimes possible to pursue comparison down to lower levels of the administrative framework. In Britain, for example, territorial analyses of educational phenomena have been carried out at Borough and even District level. Two classic examples are Sir Cyril Burt's study of maladjustment levels in different parts of London[18] and Stephan Wiseman's studies of attainments in different subjects in different parts of Manchester.[19] Currently in Britain, at an individual school level, a national index of child deprivation is being calculated to determine entitlement to 'educational priority area' grants. As in the case of larger scale territorial units, all these studies reveal remarkably high variations from area to area.

What kinds of significance can we read into spatial variations of education of the kind described? As statistical collections become available at scales, ranging from the international down to the local, territorial inequality is seen to be mirrored at every level of scale. Studies at different scales reveal different aspects of the landscape which they record. Taken together, however, they show an ubiquity and complexity of territorial inequality in educational phenomena which cannot be ignored by those interested in school-community relationships. Moreover evidence is beginning to accumulate that patterns of territorial inequality, once established, tend to perpetuate themselves in time. This clearly calls for a determined attempt to identify just what the patterns are and to devise appropriate measures to mitigate their more undesirable characteristics.

Location and catchment : features and patterns

In the wider field of social enquiry, location, central place, and network analyses have been applied with success to the spatial patterns of many industrial and social phenomena, and a respectable body of theory has been built up. Unfortunately, less work has been done on the spatial and territorial analysis of services than on those of industrial production. In relation to education, location and catchment studies have not been entirely neglected either by educationists[20] or by other social analysts.[21] Nevertheless, considering that pragmatic consideration of these matters is inevitably an every-day matter in local educational administrative offices, both the quantity and level of analysis remains remarkably low. It is nevertheless possible to sketch out some elements of locational theory which are clearly of relevance to any discussion of school and community.

Let us begin by a consideration of the compulsory part of the education system. In a few countries, at least in their urban communities, a single school location, and therefore a single catchment area, covers the whole compulsory period of education. The U.S.S.R. exemplifies this. In most countries, however, this is not so. Nor is it generally the situation which obtains outside the towns of those countries where it applies in urban areas. There are several reasons for this. Some of them pertain to societal preferences. Others are imposed by circumstance, including territorial circumstance. Thus, many countries prefer to keep the school unit as small as possible for the first stages of education, even where larger units would not cause the territorial extent of catchments to be too large for comfort. Another consideration, in sparsely populated areas, is the need to provide first level schools within reasonable travelling distance of the home. This overrides other considerations, even where it means a very small school unit. Similar provision at secondary and higher levels is not so obviously necessary. It can more easily be obviated by the provision of

boarding facilities. Moreover, by the very nature of secondary education, it could not be remotely cost-efficient except in areas of dense population.

In terms of location, therefore, the institutional pattern which generally emerges is an hierarchical one in which each tier of the hierarchy typically consists of a number of institutions at the same level feeding pupils or students into one of a smaller number of generally larger institutions at the next level up, and so on. Such an hierarchical structure is typical of locational patterns in many walks of life and it is therefore not at all surprising to see it replicated in relation to educational institutions. Figure 1 illustrates in general terms the structure of such a hierarchy as it is exemplified in many local education authorities in the British context. At broader regional and national levels, similar patterns might be added around colleges of education, polytechnics and universities. Obviously, the detailed locational patterns of scholastic institutions differ in detail from country to country and also within countries. They respond to different national educational structures and to other differences in national social context. For example, in selective systems two parallel systems of schools may be found at particular levels of the hierarchy. They also differ at regional and local levels, and as between urban and rural environments. All sorts of social and other environmental reasons can affect them. Sometimes, as in France, the pattern is subject to broad national regulation within which a detailed scholastic map is compiled. Elsewhere, as in Britain, the pattern emerges in a more ad hoc way as the result of the rather different conditions which are taken into account in the arrangements made for schooling at different levels. Nevertheless, the general structure remains of the hierarchical type exemplified in Figure 1.

In 'catchment' terms, a scholastic institution may be seen as a 'node' or 'central place', serving the locality which forms its catchment. Seen in isolation, and under assumptions of uniform population distribution and ease of travel, the ideal catchment area for a single school or college would obviously be a circle, centred upon the institution and with a radius related to the size of the school and the density of population of the area served. Other things being equal, rural schools would have larger

Fig 1 Typical hierarchy of school locations in Britain

catchments than those in more densely populated urban environments, and large schools would have larger catchments than small ones. Both these considerations, as well as others introduced below, have important implications for the relationship between school and community. This is because, for educational purposes, the parents living within a school's catchment area and serviced by it, are the community serviced by that school.

Schools of course do not exist in isolation. Every part of any national territory must form part of the potential catchment area of at least one school at each level of schooling which is legally to be provided. The application of central place theory, developed on the basis of work by Christaller[22] and Losch[23] suggests that the ideal catchment area around any node in such a network becomes hexagonal rather than circular, with the hexagons related to nodes of the same hierarchical value forming an hexagonal lattice.

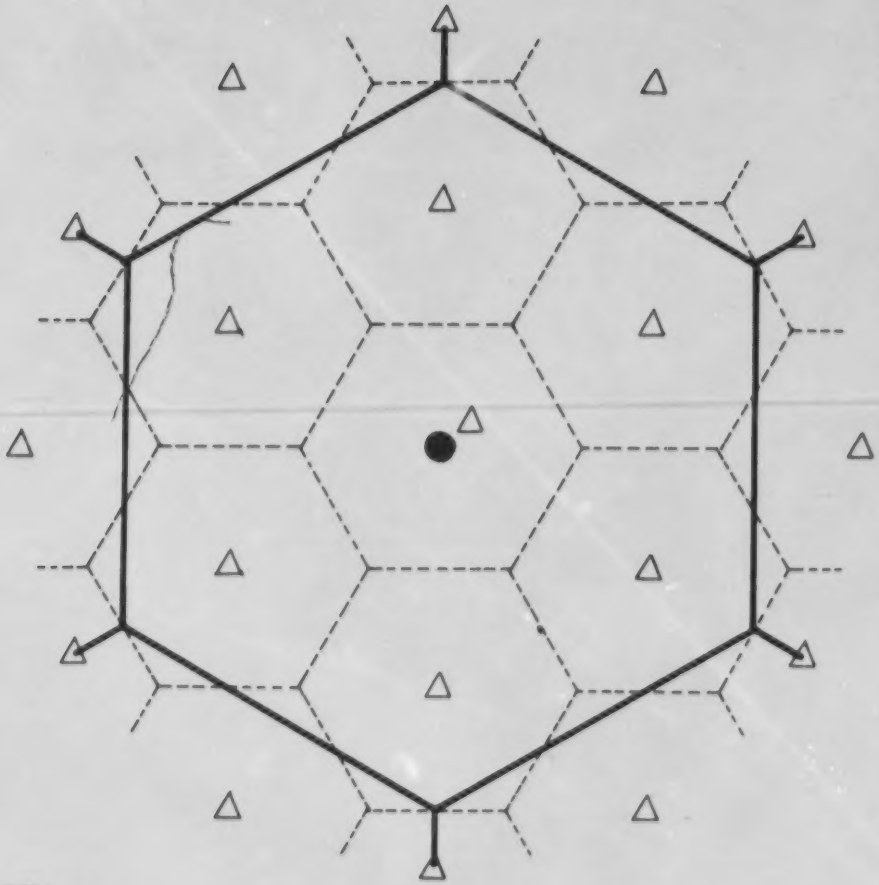
Clearly, as in other locational patterns, many factors lead, in practice, to distortions in the school catchment lattice. These have a bearing on its efficiency in servicing the communities whose education it provides. Rural situations, particularly those in which small market towns offer urban nodes concordant with the size norm for second level schools for the area which they serve, sometimes conform reasonably closely to the ideal pattern. In urban areas, however, all kinds of distortions occur. Some of these are, of course, related to the inevitable distortion of the ideal assumptions of the hexagonal lattice notion. Others, however, relate more to administrative and financial considerations and to limitations, through land-use competition, in the available space for the siting of schools. Frequently there is a need to utilize investment in existing school buildings on sites which are no longer efficiently placed in relation to their catchment areas. Moreover, further complications often arise from the possibility of overlap between catchment areas. For example, there may develop a pecking order of preferred schools as perceived by parents.

Nevertheless, whatever the shape of catchments, and of the lattices which comprise them, the hierarchical principle, illustrated with such clarity in the consideration of school and college location, applies equally to their catchment areas. It expressed itself by the way in which catchments for lower-tier, smaller, institutions nest within the catchments of larger institutions (Fig. 2) at the next level in the hierarchy. Taking account of pre- and post-school education, few countries have less than three or four such overlaid catchment lattices in their national education system. Some have appreciably more. Moreover, where selective systems exist, or where alternative systems are available, for example, to meet the needs of religious or racial groups, the number of lattices at any one level can be multiplied considerably, with no two lattices necessarily coinciding. Nevertheless, there is some empirical evidence, admittedly from a rural area, supporting the ideal nested lattice pattern portrayed in Figure 2, at least in simple situations.[24]

Taken together, the locational and catchment pattern of any territorial area, whether national, regional or local, can therefore be visualised as one in which a hierarchy of institutions is located around and in relation to the top-tier institutions of the area, with catchments each forming part of the latters' catchment areas, as well as of the catchment areas of institutions at intervening levels in the hierarchy.

Some implications for community and school

It would be tempting to pursue a number of the implications arising for



KEY:

- Primary catchment boundaries
- Primary schools
- Secondary catchment boundaries
- Secondary schools

Fig 2 A Possible Nested Lattice for a System of Primary and Secondary Schools under Ideal Assumptions

school-community relationships from the two territorial concepts which have been outlined. Space permits no more than a superficial treatment of three. These are related to the notions of

1 Territorial equality - or rather, inequality - of educational opportunity.
2 Hierarchies, and
3 Catchment efficiency

1 Territorial equality of educational opportunity

At first blush the clear evidence which is accumulating of territorial or spatial inequalities in education at every level of analysis appears to be less related to the community-school debate than to that of equality of educational opportunity. What it appears most obviously to do is to put a further nail into the coffin of a fashionable educational notion of yesteryear, thus reinforcing the many other indications of what Thomas Green has called 'The dismal future' of that concept.[25] But the notion of equality of opportunity in education as an educational goal has persisted long beyond its last period of high fashion. Indeed, it has continued as an essential strain in virtually all the fashions which have succeeded it. The case of school-community discussion is no exception. One major strand in the enthusiasm for closer school-community relationships, clearly stems from notions of its possibilities as a means of equalising life chances.

In this context the evident fundamental spatial inequalities of educational phenomena are particularly pertinent to the concepts of the relation of community to school. The statistics on which territorial analysis of such phenomena is based derive, after all, from collections within administrative boundaries. Each of these generally relates to some notion of community, if only in an administrative sense. One problem that is therefore posed is whether school-community relationships can (or should) do any more to reduce the inequalities revealed. To the extent that policy is directed at the identification of those communities where educational life-chances are patently inferior, and then seeks to do something about it - for example, by channelling, as in the 'Educational Priority Area' policy in Britain, additional resources to schools in the area - no educational egalitarian could easily dissent. (On the other hand, whether particular policies like E.P.A. can succeed in rectifying the situation, is, of course, another matter altogether).

But where, as in the work of Midwinter and his followers, notions of autonomy of communities to generate their own arrangements for education are raised - on the grounds, for example, that equality of opportunity to achieve goals laid down outside the community is too constraining, and that what should be conceded is equality to choose objectives - there is a good deal more room for debate. How, for example, might the arguments be resolved about the relative merits in the curriculum of push-pin and poetry?

Another question which it is pertinent to ask is whether the autonomy being pressed for is really a true autonomy at all. Rather than genuine self-generated education within the community, is it in fact nothing more than heavily disguised 'do goodism'? The test would then be whether, where it existed, it were allowed to survive in the face of obvious, or even perceived, dissonance with wider communal and societal aims. The 'failure' and closure of the Liverpool Free School bodes ill, at least in England, for the notion of the community school as a community-defined institution.

Of course, even disguised 'do goodism' might be thought to be a viable policy. If so, is it really likely to be entirely desirable or effective? Are its spin-off consequences sufficiently clear? It is, for example, difficult to see that every form which it might take must necessarily promote broader societal aims. And, if it does not, does this not matter? What price social cohesion, and national unity? In this respect the pressures which helped close the Liverpool Free School may well have been justified. Moreover, from an economic point of view, how does the concept relate to notions of mobility of labour, and to the movement of families to new homes?

Does not all community involvement, whatever the size of the community, imply constraints on individual freedoms as well as possibilities of enlargement? Is there, then, any reason to believe that the potential tyranny of the local community is necessarily less than that of a more distant centre of authority? Ibsen, for one, understood things differently. What, for example, would be the position for the youngster with intellectual aspirations in an anti-intellectual community school? Surely much evidence from America and elsewhere already shows us that this is not an imaginary problem.[26]

What then of social 'do goodism'? The very sound of the term smacks of derision. Yet it surely characterizes, at least in part, the activities of all but the most heartless educationist. Territorial analysis at least forces us to see the fineness of the line which separates lofty ideals about community involvement from apartheid notions of separate development.

2. Territorial hierarchies in education

The notion of hierarchies is clearly immanent in both the aspects of territorial analysis outlined. Its significance lies in the implication that, in scale terms alone, the notion of 'community' has a multiplicity of possible meanings. Most of the 'School and Community' debate appears to take place on the assumption that 'community' = 'the local community'. What that is, is not always clear, though it generally appears to be seen as somehow surrounding the school.

But consideration of spatial distributions reminds us that there are larger-scale notions of community - regional, national and international - which may also have relevance to individuals who live within them. These may be related to goals and aspirations different but just as important to the lives of their members as those of the local community. Analysis of locations and catchments, on the other hand, reminds us that even the notion of 'local community' is ambiguous and multi-faceted. To the extent that it is based on the notion of school catchment, several alternative possibilities are immediately raised, each different from the others, each implying different things. For example, it sometimes seems to be suggested that the relevant catchment is related to that of a secondary school or college. This implies a notion of community which is different and not necessarily more appropriate than that of the primary school catchment. It is also different from that of the nursery school or from that of the street. In theory, at least, it might seem possible in this situation of multi-communality to embrace an 'enlarging' community concept as a basis for schooling, analogous to the 'three language formulae' adopted in some multi-lingual contexts. In practice, it is difficult to see how conflict rather than congruence could fail to arise, at least for some pupils passing through such a system.

3. Catchment efficiency in relation to community

Perhaps the most useful approach to the discussion of this question is through a consideration of the notion of networks of schools operating within catchment lattices. In the application of spatial analysis to other non-educational phenomena much attention has been devoted to a consideration of the efficiency of the location of central place nodes in relation to the areas which they serve. No doubt similar analyses, with a view to appropriate adjustments in school catchments would not be without their value. If so, a question which would need to be answered would be 'What constitutes appropriate adjustment?'. One possible answer would be 'in the direction of a closer matching of educational catchments to the communities which they serve'. In non-urban areas doing this would generally be relatively easy, involving only the reconsideration of the location and size of existing institutions and the introduction, where necessary, of new institutions. This would result in a redefinition of the lattice. Presumably, the U 68 proposals in Sweden for the creation of new higher education nodes implies such adjustments. In cities, where problems of mismatch between community and school are most evident, progress in this direction would be much more difficult. The difficulty - perhaps an insoluble one in terms of efficiencies - would be to identify which notion of community should be applied. Among the major problems relating to educational provision in urban environments, those relating to the internal social structure of cities, to the difficulty of relocating existing schools and colleges, and to the tendency of natural catchments - i.e. those defined by the community members themselves - to overlap, are perhaps the most serious.

In particular, the tendency for territorial segregation to take place within cities on social class, racial, and cultural minority (i.e. religious, linguistic, national) criteria is well-known. The educational effects of some aspects of such segregation, e.g. those relating to slums and suburbs, and to ghettoes, have been the subject of much comment. In practice, because of the multiplex problems involved, and particularly because of the failure of self-defined community-catchment boundaries, actual school catchment boundaries are generally highly administered. Often, through force of circumstance, they are arbitrary. They even change from year to year, in response to the territorial incidence of entrants in relation to available places. But, even where choice is possible, the administrator is still faced with difficult 'either-or' situations. If, for example, he tries to implement the notion of 'the city as community', then socially mixed catchments, might be his aim. Bussing, so conspicuously unsuccessful in America, might be involved. On the other hand, where he aims for a 'local-neighbourhood-community' concept, socially, - or, in some countries, racially-segregated catchments became inevitable. Whether or not community schools of this sort in deprived areas could really improve motivation for education remains a moot point. But even if they could, risks for wider concepts of community, - based on city, region, or nation - are surely implied.

The essential difficulty, is that cities do not really operate as unitary communities at all, at least, not in the Gemeinschaft sense. Despite the obvious need for community spirit, their inhabitants' so-called community involvement expresses itself territorially in more Gesellschaft - like relationships to social institutions. The school systems is merely one of these. Moreover, in their more private social lives, city dwellers'

relationships to various notions of 'community' are complex, multiple and intertwined. In terms of territory, the expression of these community involvements, though community-like in surface appearance, are as difficult - perhaps even more so - to unravel into their constituent parts as are those of other crowded social areas like the children's playground or the monkey house. Typically, the communality of the pertinent set of community involvements is so small that it would not merit serious consideration. No wonder catchments administrators throw up their hands in despair!

Nowhere is this more true, despite romantic folklore to the contrary, than among the often shifting populations found in those zones of city dereliction at which the 'betterment' objectives of some of the more extreme community school proponents are particularly directed. To be sure, tightly-knit low-status communities, defined, for example, on social or cultural criteria, have, and still do, exist in many cities; but these are rarely communities which exhibit the problems of the true problem areas. They should not be confused with them. In the latter, often comprising largely transient and often hopeless inhabitants, whose children may shift from school to school by the term, the problem is often precisely that there is no community spirit. The only thing 'uniting' such groups is a deep self-perpetuating antagonism for 'them', so eloquently expressed by the younger generation in the schools and on the streets.

Despite the difficulties which these observations imply much can no doubt be done to remove the more grotesque spatial expressions of inefficiency in the school-community adjustment. Large groups of children bussing long distances in opposite directions to their respective schools are not an infrequent sight. Cases exist of children moving to school right across a city, from one suburb outside its administrative boundaries to another.[24] These and similar anomalies ought to be easily dealt with once identified. But the heart of the school-community question is hardly touched by such marginal tinkering. The catchment-administrator could no doubt match educational provision to one or other definition of community. But territorial analysis makes clear that the consequences of doing so effectively will inevitably be to break other community links both at the same and at different hierarchical levels - links which may be no less important for the individuals concerned and for the society in which they live. Educators still remain squarely in the business of having to break eggs to make their omelettes. The community-school concept cannot release them from that.

Conclusion

Much of the territorial argument implied in this paper may be felt to be essentially critical, and even destructive. This is not the intention of the writer. On the contrary, there seems to be much that is good and valuable, in notions of relating community and school. There is, for example, a clear need to remove bureaucratic and other restrictions on their mutual involvement. Happily, movement in that direction appears to be taking place. Parents are becoming more involved in the schools. Children are increasingly being taken out of the classroom and into the community as a natural part of their education. The judicious use of additional resources is helping to stimulate school-community relationships where none previously existed. Above all, dedicated teachers in the schools themselves are dealing, often intuitively but imaginatively, with the problems.

Yet, given the euphoric and apparently uncritical view which obtains in some quarters of the 'school and community' notion - a view which sees the school-community relationship as the latest panacea for all our educational ills - a note of scepticism, based on an aspect of community-school relationships which has so far received little attention, does not seem to be amiss. One of the paradoxes of the present wave of interest in school and community relationships is that concentration on lofty but highly general ideas has led in practice to an emphasis on structure and content, - on schools and their curricula - through which, it is hoped, to further these ideals. More detailed specification of these ideals themselves has so far been neglected. Examination of the concept of territory in relation to school and community, starting from notions of spatial structures and their outputs, directs our attention firmly towards the need for much greater clarification and specification of goals. Concepts of community and their relationships to schools are revealed as much more subtle and complex than community-school advocates have generally appreciated. Potential conflicts of interest emerge relating to the achievement of goals both as between the different aspects of the school-community notion, and in its relationship to other generally accepted educational goals, e.g. those of equality, justice, and innovation.

Given the kind of clarification to which this paper points, much may reasonably be expected of the further development of school and community relationships which the present wave of interest in them is helping to promote. However, one lesson suggested is that more is likely to be achieved if too much is not expected. More modest, more carefully specified, goals than those currently taken as axiomatic in the 'school-community' literature need to be chosen. Without such caution, there is a danger that current enthusiasm may be dulled before its time by excess in expectation.

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II PARTICIPATION AND EDUCATIONAL DECISION MAKING

7 LOCAL, REGIONAL, AND NATIONAL PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY DECISION-MAKING AND SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION: AN INTRODUCTION

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The topic of participation in education has had a boom during recent years. There have been several international conferences held on the participation problem, sponsored by international educational agencies, e.g. the OECD Conference on 'Participatory planning in education' in January 1973, the symposium of the Council of Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe, held in Brussels in November 1973 under the title 'Participation in education and training for participation', and, most recently, the Conference, again organized by the Council of Europe, in Lillehammer, Norway, on 'The integration of adult education within a framework of permanent education: trends towards self-management of education'. Notwithstanding such a broad popularity of the participation question among educationists since the end of the sixties, the lack of international comparative studies on this subject should be noted. The special issue of the German journal Bildung und Erziehung (no 4/1973), devoted to the question of 'Mitbestimmung' (participation) as a phenomenon in Western Europe and in socialist countries of Europe, has been nearly the only attempt to treat the problem cross-nationally. One important exception in the domain of bilateral comparative study is the work of the joint commission of the Federal Republic of Germany and Sweden on 'Democratization and participation in schools and higher education'[1]

The rather unsatisfactory situation in the field of comparative research on educational participation is a reflection, to some degree, of well-known general difficulties in our discipline. Starting from the simple fact of empirically gathered data and information about the scope, mechanisms, and effects of participation within a given national system of education one must agree with John Peters' statement that

> 'There is no empirical research whatsoever about parent participation. It is practically impossible to start a valid investigation if one cannot start the forming of theories as well. This is not only a problem in the Netherlands, since in foreign literature empirical studies on parent participation are also scarce'[2]

On problems of pupils' participation - or as the Swedish used to say, school democracy - much the same could be said, though a series of projects has been conducted under Professor Åke Bjerstedt at Malmö, mostly concerned with the class room situation and students' as well as teachers' attitudes.

A first group of questions dealt with in our papers deals with the roots of participation and the sources of legitimacy. Under 'roots of participation' one can understand the historical roots as well as the contemporary social and political motives behind the struggle for participation. The paper of Peter Bi[illegible]ett from the Open University deals expressly with the problems of diffe[illegible]ources of legitimacy under the conditions of British society and educati[illegible].[3] He distinguishes three different groups of participants in the educational arena, namely the politicians, professional groups and voluntary groups. Each can claim different sources of legitimacy. Each differs also in respect to the range and level of participation in educational matters. It would be interesting to consider to what degree

the scheme offered by Raggatt[4] is applicable to other political and educational systems and how far it must be altered to make it usable for a broader comparative analysis of participation processes.

The question of legitimacy is connected with the legal framework in which participation in education operates. It seems to me an important task of comparative analysis not only to describe the existing legal basis and the changes which school legislation are subjected to, but also to investigate the importance of legal theory for education in general and the legal regulations for educational participation in particular in different countries. For instance, Detlef Glowka's survey of the present legal and administrative situation in school participation in West Germany[5] shows what the German participants of the Conference will obviously know: that there is often an overemphasis on legal aspects of participation in Germany which can finally lead to less active engagement and even to frustration. As far as I can see, it is only in Germany that we find a voluminous literature dealing in main with the issue of parents' rights. It outweighs by far that of actual parents' participation in the market. In the Anglo-Saxon countries I suppose things to be quite different. The dominance of legalism in educational policy and in the discussion of participation is one of the central points which Dr. Gruber's paper stresses for the Austrian scene.[6] Of course such a strongly legalistic position - as opposed to a broader concept of legitimacy - is connected with state bureaucracy. It can be explained only in historical terms, as Austria, Germany, and even pre-Revolution Russia, prove.

Finally, the question of legitimacy is connected with the concept of society and with the political structure within a society. The idea of participation in a broader sense, participation in education being only a part of it, can be traced back to some general ideas of democratization, self-government and emancipation towards the end of the 18th century. For a comparative analysis it seems to me likewise important neither to neglect the ideological factor as manifest in today's movements for participation nor to confine oneself to purely ideological argumentation. Thus, for instance, a question which can and must be raised concerns to what degree participation rights of autonomous social groups and institutions, e.g. enterprises or schools, are reflected in some concepts of socialist or communist societies, while not in others. Well known contrasted examples are the Yugoslav system of self-administration and the highly centralized systems in most of the other socialist countries. A comparison of their respective types of school administration with reference to the participation of social groups may lead on the one hand to the shaping of two ideal types (Idealtypen) in Max Weber's sense: state socialism (Staatssozialismus) and self-government socialism (Selbstverwaltungssozialismus). A comparative study, mainly interested in the functioning, the machinery, and the real effects of these two different types of participation in educational affairs, would probably demonstrate the relativity of such general types in practice.

A second group of questions raised by the papers is concerned with <u>levels of participation and formal procedures</u> in different educational systems. One can roughly distinguish at least three levels: the national, the local, and the individual school. There are at the first level (i.e. the national one) - as far as I can see - problems of participation carrying important weight for educational planning (structure and curriculum planning). However, less discussion takes place in connection with the problem of legitimacy. Sweden offers, as Dr. Goldschmidt demonstrates, a striking example. The Swedish

school and university reforms have not changed significantly the model of decision making at the national level; the responsibility of the national parliament and the executive power of the central administration remain the pillars on which the reform is based. The general public takes part in the process of forming opinion and in providing technical expertise on commissions of experts. It has representatives in organized social and professional groups. In a parliamentary democracy which is based on the principle of representation through general elections such a system is probably the only adequate one. On the other hand, there have been, and still are, ideas and attempts in democracies of the parliamentary representative type to create a nation-wide representation of educational groups involved; to create a kind of 'educational parliament', for either the entire educational system or at least a part of it, e.g. for higher education. Such ideas have not yet materialized, mainly because they present an inherent contradiction to systems based on the principle of undivided political responsibility of parliament, but also because of the difficulties in the way of finding adequate criteria and procedures for the representation of the different groups involved.

The local level of participation is closely connected with the role of community in educational decision-making and school administration. The well known contrast here is between the United States and most European countries. The distinction between community-oriented and state-oriented education policy has played an important role in the history of comparative education and in the international exchange of educational ideas. Dewey's idea of a community-centred school has been taken up by radical democrats and socialists opposed to the power of the bureaucratic state in Germany and in Russia. Participation at the local level is influenced by the idea of 'grass root democracy'. Thus, during the first revolutionary period of Soviet education the 'skola-kommuna', the school commune, was an expression of the most radical social spirit. Local participation in educational matters has something to do with the idea of direct democracy and therefore there is at least a tension in relation to the principle of representative democracy. We must take into account again the different historical roots of local responsibility and of involvement in school affairs. Dr. Lawson's contribution clearly demonstrates this issue in his country.[7] The problem there is not that of a necessary legal and administrative change towards more involvement by the local community as is the case in most European countries, but that of motivating the public and improving active participation within a formally well established community system of schooling.

The third level of participation is that of the individual educational institution. The German term 'Mitbestimmung', mostly used for participation, means, above all, the participation of teachers within the school; the new legal acts and administrative regulations described in the papers of Dr. Glowka and Dr. Gruber deal mainly with relationships of the three groups mentioned in internal school affairs. The same seems to be true of French regulations after 1968. In all three school systems the participation movement resulted in the creation of new representative bodies in the school or in the widening of functions of already existing ones. The common problem in traditionally centralized bureaucratic school systems evident, for example, in those of France and the Federal Republic of Germany (which in fact has eleven centralized school authorities) can be described in the words which Dr. Rita Süssmuth applied to the French situation at the beginning of the seventies:

'The ways by which efforts have been made to implement participation in schools within the framework of 'pédagogie bureaucratique' meet opposition from the official institutions. In the long run it is therefore not sufficient to introduce participation at the lowest level; the demarcation lines of the participation principle must be explored, and one must aim at changes in the institutions themselves. The acceptance of participation as a general principle in the educational system also requires new criteria for the optimal school size, for school management, organization of teaching processes and even for the structure of teaching subjects.'[8]

The rather pessimistic conclusion in Dr. Glowka's paper, concerned with the development in West Germany, is a result of the strong opposition in most of the German Länder and their school authorities to the 1973 proposals of the Educational Council for more autonomy for the individual school. It would again be interesting to undertake a comparative study of the role of school administration in processes of participation. As the report of Baumert and Raschert on West Berlin demonstrates the conflicts between the educational authorities in that city and the teachers engaged in curriculum innovation derive in part from different expectations and intentions on both sides.[9] Administrative and political authorities regard the new ways and means of participation mainly in terms of efficiency - e.g. in a more technical sense -, whereas the teachers and parents involved are usually more interested in improving human and social relations within the school and in extending their field of responsibility.

In this connection we can move to a third set of problems discussed in the papers in this section: the role of different groups participating in educational policy decision making and in school affairs. Let me begin with a deficiency: the absence of a contribution dealing with the role of pupils in school participation. Some information may be obtained from the research project in Malmö already mentioned. The 'neglected role of the pupil' is the title of the opening chapter of a study recently published about the role of the pupil.[10] The author writes:

'Much has been written about the role of the teacher but the role of the pupil has largely been ignored. This is the more surprising when we reflect that the central activities prescribed by both roles - teacher and pupil - take place in the common arena of the classroom ...

Why, then, have sociologists tended to neglect the role of the pupil? Presumably it is not because they see teaching as essentially more important than learning. Statements of educational aims such as appear in suggestions to teachers, school prospectuses and political party platforms correctly focus on the pupil as the principal beneficiary of the education system and even teachers' unions often cite the pupils' interest as the main reason for improving the conditions under which teachers work. But, politically, every other group concerned with education - teachers, administrators, planners, parents, employers and society at large - can obtain a better hearing for its own point of view than can the pupil. In particular, teachers as a group are highly articulate and well able to voice their concern over their own role ...'[11]

The last remark has a direct reference to the problem of participation.

Although it is evident that the movement for participation in education which started during the 'sixties has been influenced decisively by the student movements in universities, and partly by students in high schools, organized groups such as teachers and parents voiced their claims much more strongly and gained altogether more real participation. Pupils' participation is usually confined to the individual school or even class whereas the representation of teachers' and parents' interests at local, regional and national levels has been assured by their organizations. The transitory role of the pupil - even if it lasts for several decisive years of personal development - puts him into a weaker position. According to the above mentioned author 'the pupil's position is among the disvalued positions in our society. Like the position of the child, and the position of the patient, it lacks status; it commands little respect'.[12] The traditional role of the pupil in public systems of education seems to change very slowly, and the influence of individual schools, even experimental schools, on the internal structure of most of the other schools is very limited. Therefore one cannot expect a major advancement in student participation within the school system as a whole, notwithstanding changes in teacher-pupil relations within the classroom.

Contrary to the position of pupils, which seems to be rather independent of different social and political conditions under which schools work, there are remarkable differences in the parents' and teachers' participatory role in the different systems. Contributions discuss the formal rights, the organizational forms, the pressure policy and the areas of teacher participation. A general concern of teachers in participation questions seems to me to be their sometimes openly stated and sometimes concealed fear of losing their professional status as experts in teaching and education as a result of being asked to share their role to some degree with parents or para-professional personnel in schools.

Concerning the parents' role, I will restrict myself to one aspect raised in the contributions by Dr. Peters and Dr. Lawson which is of some importance to the general discussion of relations between school and community. Dr. Lawson mentions the noticeable resurgence of demand for informal human interaction within the framework of community.[13] Dr. Peters examines in detail the effects of parent participation on the teachers, the individual school, the parents themselves, and the authorities.[14] Both authors agree that parent participation should not be regarded as an aim in itself, but as a means to an end.

What then, is the aim of participation in education? Child-centred educational theory regarded the mental and physical growth of the individual child, the development of the child's personality, as an ultimate aim and tried to harmonize the educational objectives of school and community for the sake of the child's development. A society-centred theory of education tries to harmonize the educational process from a different point of view: The relations between school, family and community should form a united educational front and thus extend and strengthen the influence of the given society on the young generation. Neither of these concepts, however, seem in my eyes to be appropriate in defining the task of participation in a democratic society in which the existence of conflicting values, different class interests, and open political competition must be recognised. Under these circumstances, in my opinion, the main task for participation is to rationalise existing conflicts in relation to the central aim of education: to transmit not only the

traditional values of the society but to secure freedom for the emergence of new social structures and ideas. The legitimacy of participation can be derived only from a political and social philosophy which adheres to the idea of an open society and which takes account of a well defined autonomy of groups and institutions involved in the task of education.

Notes and References

1 Dr. Dietrich Goldschmidt's paper, 'Participatory Democracy in Schools and Higher Education: Emerging Problems in the Federal Republic of Germany and Sweden' has been published in a revised version in Journal of Higher Education, 1975

2 See page 132.

3 See chapter 8, pp 85-94.

4 Loc. cit. p.88.

5 See chapter 9, pp.95-105.

6 See chapter 10, pp. 106-111.

7 See chapter 4, pp.37-45.

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11 loc. cit. pp.2-3.

12 loc. cit. p.4.

13 See chapter 4, pp. 43-44.

14 See chapter 12, pp.135 et seq

8 PARTICIPANTS IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING: SOME ASPECTS OF LEGITIMACY

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In England in recent years there has been a questioning of who should participate in issues of educational policy. This growth of interest in participation which is evident at national, local and school levels is a response to changes in the relationships between different groups engaged in educational decision making and, in part, the change in the sources of legitimacy claimed by different groups. I propose to offer some reasons for the recent emphasis on participation (this will principally be at a level of conjecture), and to examine some of the confusions which arise because participants in the educational arenas have different sources of legitimacy.[1] Not surprisingly, the participants tend to favour different styles of decision-making and different types of actions. First, however, I would like to explore an analysis offered in America. The reason for this will become clear.

Robert A. Nisbet, a noted conservative, wrote The Quest for Community, in 1953 in which he argued that 'The outstanding characteristic of contemporary thought on Man and Society is preoccupation with personal alienation and cultural disintegration'.[2] Central to his argument was the erosion of the authority of small groups - the family, the local community and traditional associations. It was the decay of the sense of community which gave rise to the quest for community which became 'the dominant social tendency of the twentieth century'. Moynihan takes this analysis as the foundation for an examination of the war on poverty for the programme, funded through the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which, under Title II, provided community action organisation which 'is developed and conducted with the maximum feasible participation of the residents of the areas'.[3]

We have been familiar for years with the layman's economic quotation 'when America sneezes Europe catches cold' - but we are less ready to acknowledge the exportation from America of educational theory. This is not the point at which to discuss the internationalisation of trade in pedagogic theory, though I would suggest that notwithstanding the many criticisms of American education, America has a surplus balance of payments in this respect. The point is rather that the volume of hypotheses offered and enquiries conducted in the USA, their availability (for English speaking academics, politicians, et al), and the quality of their best research material has influenced the ways in which problems are perceived.

This cultural borrowing operates in two stages. The concept, say participation, deprivation, or cultural pluralism, may be the point of focus, but the analysis made, the evidence collected and the discussion is British based though often guided by the original American model. Commonly, however, when the implications of public policy are examined (almost a publication requirement in most journals) intervention strategies adopted in America are again the source of much inspiration. Some workers of course move directly to this second stage.

Two examples may help to illustrate the point. Moynihan takes Nisbet's theory through the 1950's seeing much to confirm it. Corruption was everywhere, in politics, in the union, among the people - even among those 'who had become the symbols of disinterested learning in the pursuit of excellence'.[4] But it was in juvenile delinquency that the 'social changes

and moral concerns of the decade came together'. The causes of crime and juvenile delinquency were catalogued; broken homes, status deprivation, poverty, and a desire for society's rewards widely shared, though some groups were denied the acceptable means (this in Merton's terms led to innovative behaviour). Essentially, however, the causes were related back to the loss of community. Along with the loss went the mutual aid associations - effective though informal mechanisms of social control. A loss of community was associated with anomie, alienation and few supportive mechanisms. Hence crime and delinquency could flourish.

The analysis of the Seebohm Report[5] was similar.

> 'The notion of a community implies the existence of a network of social relationships, which among other things ensure mutual aid and give those who experience it a sense of well-being. The feeling of identity which membership of a community bestows derives from the common values, attitudes and way of behaving which the members share and which forms the rules which guide social control over behaviour which is characteristic of highly integrated and long established communities. Powerful social control may, of course, stifle the individual and produce over-conformity but it has been suggested that the incidence of delinquency is likely to be highest either where little sense of community exists, and hence little social control, and the predominant community values are, in fact, potentially criminal. Such ideas point to the need for the personal social services to engage in the extremely difficult and complex task of encouraging and assisting the development of community identity and mutual aid, particularly in areas characterised by rapid population turnover, high delinquency, child deprivation and mental illness rates and other indices of social pathology. Social work with individuals alone is bound to be of limited effect in an area where the community environment itself is a major impediment to healthy individual development.'

The causal relationship is identified. Then the solution, community development, is offered. But in this report a particular form of community development is envisaged:

> 'Community development in this country is seen as a process whereby local groups are assisted to clarify and express their needs and objectives and to take collective action to attempt to meet them. It emphasises the involvement of the people themselves in determining and meeting their own needs. The role of the community worker is that of a source of information and expertise, a stimulator, a catalyst and an encourager.'

This report, however, skirts around the traditional governmental process, that of representative democracy, and the suggestion of direct democracy. The role of community worker may initially seem clear but there is an obvious possibility of the community worker becoming a central figure in conflicts between a community and the local administrative and political system. Furthermore it implicitly offers alternative sources of legitimacy - from the clients or customers, from the technology of the profession, or from the elected representatives.

For a second example one might look at Olive Banks' useful book The Sociology of Education.[6] This is a book widely used in colleges and

university departments of education in Britain. Both in the select bibliography and in the Chapter 'Who Controls our Schools' (the only one I look at specifically for this paper) the majority of references are American. Banks concludes the chapter with an appeal for more researches into the decision making processes in education at all levels. This appeal remains thoroughly justified in my opinion although the contribution of Boaden,[7] Eileen Byrne,[8] Kogan,[9] Parkinson,[10] the OECD[11] and Saran[12] have gone some way to filling the vacuum.

To summarise, one source of the recent emphasis on participation is, in my judgement, American analyses which fundamentally question the legitimacy of many social institutions. Indigenous evidence can also be offered that groups who historically were under-powered were still receiving less than a 'fair share' of the public resources made available in education (Byrne et al 1972).[13] Nor, as Halsey shows, did their chances of educational success notably improve:

> 'the typical history of educational expansion in the 1950s and 1960s can be expressed by a graph of inequality of attainment between (races, classes, sexes and as between metropolitan/ suburban and provincial/rural populations) which is shifted markedly upwards without changing its slope. In other words relative chances did not alter materially despite expansion.'[14]

Sociologists questioned the selection and distribution of knowledge in society and began to debate the relationship between social groups, the conceptual form of language and the receptivity of the school system to different linguistic forms. It is doubtful if any one of these enquiries had much effect on the debate about participation in education. But taken together they suggested, minimally, that policy makers should listen more carefully to the expressed needs of minority or underpowered groups.

Legitimacy and Action

The participants in the educational arena can be broadly divided into politicians, professional groups and voluntary groups. Each can claim different sources of legitimacy as outlined in the Table I. Transcending national and local interests are the various party ideologies which are given operational definition in the manifestoes presented to the electorate. The majority party can then claim the electorate as its source of legitimacy. This is the process of representative government with which we are familiar. Certain amendments of policy as outlined in the manifesto occur prior to legislation. Consultation with various interest groups broadens the basis of support for the policy and reduces the chances of repeal if the government is not re-elected for the next period of parliament. Secondly it reduces disjunctions between the different levels of policy formation and policy implementation. The overall effect, however, is normally to achieve a consensual reform. The negotiations which take place do so at both Ministerial level and, more commonly, between interest groups or occupational groups and the Department of Education and Science. Kogan[15] has outlined how this occurs and given some examples of the influence on policy effected by consultations between the Minister, teacher unions, educational management in the local authorities and the Confederation for the Advancement of State Education (CASE). Cannon's study of the influence of the Church of England indicates that it too has been a particularly effective pressure group at the national level.[16] Policy arising from these reports may also be said to have a wide base of legitimacy.

Educational government has been described in one widely quoted study (Manzer) as an autonomous sub-system of macro-level government in which 'over relatively long periods of time fairly stable relationships usually develop among the interests clustering about a decision-making centre. They tend to defend the status quo which permits them to exist and pursue their objectives against only limited competition.'[17]

A further influence on national policy in education arises from the custom of appointing advisory bodies on particular aspects of education. Representatives from a wide variety of interest groups are appointed to these bodies.

At the local level politicians are constrained by national legislation which requires them to provide certain services and permits them to provide others - thus grants for degree courses in universities and polytechnics are mandatory but a local authority may choose whether or not it will support students taking courses in further education; similarly, the local organisation of schooling on selective or non-selective lines at the secondary level is a matter of choice (at least so far). Other than that the value of negotiating policy recognised at central level is also true at the local level, hence consensual reform tends to be the form of action commonly chosen.

An interesting innovation in consultation between local politicians and citizens is occuring in the Inner London Education Authority. In 1972 the ILEA (which is now open to the public for sub-committee meetings) established parents' consultative committees in each district. In addition, it has circulated a series of green papers entitled 'Planning for 1980' which presents suggestions for secondary school provision by the education officer and the responses of the governors, heads and staff of affected schools.[18] These consultative papers are intended to act as a catalyst for public debate. The preface suggests that 'it is important to realise that these were (the education officer's) suggestions; they were not proposals put forward by the elected members of the ILEA. Calling for the views of everyone interested in education - parents, teachers, governors, pupils or anyone else - the paper states that the elected members will not be able to formulate policy until such views are available and a full round of consultation is completed. The early signs are that a number of changes are being made to the suggestions as a result of the consultations.

In addition, each school or group of schools has a body of managers/ governors. In recent years many authorities have taken steps to include on those bodies elected parents, teachers and even pupils of schools.

Professional groups may be broadly divided into educational administration and teacher groups. At national level the DES is well known. The local education authority is staffed by permanent officials. The source of legitimacy for these administrators may vary - certainly they can lay claim to a body of expertise not shared by other participants in education policy making. Thus they can claim to be an authority, to use Peters' distinction. They may further claim a rational-scientific basis for policy proposals. This assumes that policies are recommended following the logical examination of data and the choice between alternatives. Underlying this, however, is the assumption that the social scientific basis which provides them with their expertise is value-free. It may also lead them into problems with politicians who are concerned about feasibility rather than rationality.

Other planners may disclaim a value-free approach to social or educational engineering and have a commitment to a professional ideology of social justice in one form or another. Again tensions with politicians are likely. In both cases the administrators are likely to claim a synoptic view and will tend to deny the legitimacy of specific interest groups. They 'take the broader view' abjuring parochial policy in the service of the whole community and may therefore be opposed by specific groups.

A second source of legitimacy for educational administrators is from the politicians, i.e. they conceptualise their role as the agents of the politicians. But the complexity of providing an educational service is considerable. Relationships with other services are one factor which necessarily reduces simple political subservience. More critically, it is the managers who collect and control the flow of information about the service, who define the parameters according to which information is collected and policy developed. Studies in England suggest that the chief officers and chairmen of committees have, in the past, been the major policy makers. Indeed in Lee's study not only are the Chief officers seen as gatekeepers but as a 'body of professional people, placed together in a large office at County Hall, who can call upon the services of representatives throughout the area they administer' and in the case of education that the Education Committee had 'little choice but to accept the recommendations made by its officers. For example:

> 'Certain facts, such as the precise distribution of grammar school places were not available even to all members of the Education Committee. The latter accepted a policy which confined this information to the 'ministerialists', the leading councillors and chief officers, because it would be unwise to let it become public knowledge.'[20]

Parkinson gives further support to the power of officers:

(Education Committee)

> 'Members are socialised in some numbers and believing that the process of planning into policy is more problematic than they had imagined, not because of the niceties of party politics, nor because of the scale of the educational budget, but because of the bureaucracy and complexity of decision making.'[21]

Certainly some of the studies in English educational decision making appear to confirm Weber's proposition that

> 'under normal conditions the power position of a fully developed bureaucracy is always overtowering. The political master finds himself in a position of the 'dilettante' who stands opposite the expert facing the trained official who stands within the management of administration.'[22]

In this sense then the politicians provide legitimacy for, but not control over, the bureaucrats who may be trapped in a perception of their role as scientific expert or be using their position to implement professional ideologies not widely supported outside their occupational group.

More recently and not yet in education, at least in Britain, some officers have turned towards the client or the customer as the source of legitimacy. One notes this occuring in some of the Community Development Projects set in train by the Home Office in 1970 and in the orientation given to their

jobs by some detached social workers. In these cases the officers begin with an identification of need of the client group and then mobilise the efforts to bring about change. They provide information, point out the legal rights of clients and otherwise act as advocates for clients. Hence, although one source of legitimacy is technical expertise the role definition adopted derives from a particular and possibly idiosyncratic professional value. Official policies may be opposed to these values as might wider public opinion. Indeed, such practitioners often abjure too close an association with governmental authority and their more conservative colleagues. Space precludes a discussion of the difficulties of identifying client groups in heterogeneous communities or of the potential for conflict between representative democracy and direct democracy.

Teacher groups are legitimated by the membership. On the whole they have been characterised by a defence of the status quo - a protection of autonomy and opposition to any form of lay control. This is exemplified in the following pronouncements:

> We believe that determination of the school's educational aims should be the responsibility of the staff. But having determined those aims we believe that the staff of a school should ensure that parents are fully informed and have opportunity for discussion with parents of their decisions. (NUT, 1974).[23]

and

> We welcome the Royal Commission's proposals on Local Government Reform that ways should be found of widening the sphere of action of Governing Bodies which should not interfere with the 'proper responsibilities of Heads and other teachers'. We would firmly state that the curriculum must be regarded as such 'a proper responsibility'. (Joint Statement of the Unions, 1970).[24]

The legitimacy of voluntary lay groups rest upon their membership. For the most part they are middle class. The groups produce reports, lobby M.P.s and the Minister and may undertake research.

One of the better known is the Confederation for the Advancement of State Education (CASE) which has already been mentioned. It was founded in 1960 and, by 1972, there were 105 branches. Best known for its efforts in encouraging the development of comprehensive education, it has also given evidence to various Advisory Committees (Plowden, Russell, James and Maud) and more recently was invited to give evidence to the Bullock Inquiry into the Teaching of Reading. Its interests are wide. Basically middle-class in its membership, it is slowly turning to considerations of welfare and maintenance allowances in schools, pressing mainly at the local level but also nationally for greater consistency and more effective distribution of benefits. Many active workers in CASE are themselves employed in education, some as teachers, others as lecturers and writers. It is interesting also as an example of overlapping membership. For example, the National Secretary of CASE is also on the Executive Board of the National Association of Governors and Managers (NAGM) and on the Home-School Council Executive Board.

The local branches of CASE have been influential in affecting the development of comprehensive education and have provided not merely a monitoring system but have also actively lobbied local councillors and disseminated information about educational research which helped to educate

councillors and public. They have also provided representatives on local consultative committees. But there are groups whose goals conflict with those of CASE. For example, the pressure by CASE for comprehensive education has been matched by various groups defending selective secondary education. Defenders of local grammar schools have organised petitions, demonstrated, lobbied councillors and Ministers.

CASE is at present riven by internal dispute over the right of elected officers to send their children to private schools while at the same time campaigning for improvements in the publicly provided school system.

A different type of group is the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) which also provides reports, lobbies M.P.s and so on in support of poorer sections of the population. For example, one report focussed attention on the inadequacies of clothing grants by LEAs. This report received considerable attention in the media and raised visibility of problems faced by poor families requiring clothing for sports. It also commented on the unsympathetic attitudes of teachers.

At the local level the CPAG can be quite effective, as the comments of Tim Robinson, a sociologist at Sheffield University show:

> We've only really just begun to show some interest in education and the main thing we've done in Sheffield is to carry out a survey to find out how much people knew about educational welfare benefits. We got a pretty shrewd idea that one of the reasons that there weren't all that many people claiming a lot of benefits was simply because they didn't know about them. So we did a small survey in three areas at Sheffield. They weren't the most deprived parts of Sheffield but they were fairly poor areas. In the three areas we did about one hundred and seventy interviews altogether. The picture that came out of this was very clear. Apart from free school meals that most people had heard about, the other educational welfare benefits - that's educational maintenance grants, footwear and clothing grants and uniform grants - well under half of the people we talked to had even heard of. And when we went on and asked them questions about the income levels at which they became entitled to the benefits, they knew even less about it.
>
> When we'd got the information we sent it off to the Education Department in Sheffield and went down and had a discussion with them. By this time they'd produced a draft leaflet which they intended to send out to parents. We criticised this and commented on it. So they modified it afterwards and they've now produced another and are sending it out to parents. It still remains to be seen what sort of effect this will have and we're obviously going to keep fairly close watch on it. The other thing that we do is certainly to pass on this information and other information to our national headquarters because some of the changes that we're interested in can't be made at local level. For example the school leaving age has recently been raised from fifteen to sixteen. At the same time that this happened they've raised the age at which people become entitled to the maintenance grant from fifteen to sixteen.
>
> What parents are supposed to do when their children are between fifteen and sixteen nobody's explained. Sheffield Education

> Department simply haven't got the powers to act unilaterally in this and the only way change can come is through the Ministry in London. So we hope that if we feed information to national headquarters and other local branches they'll be able to use this information and take it up directly with the Ministry.[25]

The CPAG, at least in Sheffield, appears to have been accepted by the local education authority.

PTAs have so far been omitted from the discussion. The number of PTAs is increasing. They can only be formed when the head agrees, and their activities are usually prescribed by the head in such a way that they have no policy forming role in the school though in some areas they are the mechanism for electing a manager or governor. Primarily though they act in fund raising capacities.

Conclusion

In this paper I have tried to outline some of the sources of legitimacy available to participants and educational policy making. There are variations both between groups and within groups. Underlying the claims to legitimacy are inconsistencies many of which are not widely recognised. This paper may help to identify alternative sources of legitimacy available in different participant groups.

TABLE 1

Participants in the Educational Arena	Sources of Legitimacy	Types of Action
Politicians		
National	Electorate Manifesto presented to electorate gives operational definition to party ideology.	Consensual reform
Local	Local politicians constrained by national legislation (mandatory and permissive provision)	Consensual reform
Managers and Governors	Appointment by politicians and parents	Principally agents of L.E.A. and friends of the school
Professional Groups		
Managers DES, LEA	1 a. Expertise (rational-scientific) b. Professional ideologies 2 Politicians 3 Clients/consumers	1a data evaluation planned reform 1b initiators/conciliators 2 Service function for politicians 3 Identification of community need Mobilisation of efforts to bring about change (representative democracy vs. direct democracy) Protection of autonomy and special interests
Teacher Groups	Members	
Voluntary Lay Groups		
CASE	Members (Higher/lower valuations of Myrdahl)	Political pressure group
NAGM	Members	Political pressure group
CPAG	Clients (low income groups)	Advocacy, information/research pol p. group
Churches	Historical importance from social elite	Pol. p. group
PTA	Members	Generally co-opted by professional groups

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9 MODELS OF PARTICIPATION IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Detlef Glowka (Berlin)

1 New legislation related to schools in the German states

Exercising their authority in the cultural field, most of the ten West German states and West Berlin have passed new school laws during the last two years. In some of the states, new legislation is imminent. Various aspects of educational legislation are treated differently in individual laws, but, generally, they are concerned with the rights of teachers, school administration, and schools' relationships to supervisory agencies, as well as with the rights of students and parents within the school and in upper echelons of the school administration. Since education laws determine the legality of whatever happens in the schools, the changes so far accomplished deserve specific attention. What are the motives behind them? In what respect do they change the school system of the Federal Republic of Germany?

The passing of these laws through the state legislative assemblies has been preceded, in some cases, by lengthy and lively argument. The state ministers of culture found the matter important enough to warrant releasing detailed drafts to the public. There were hearings with concerned organizations and interest groups (teacher unions, parent organizations, teacher organizations, etc.), and some of these groups prepared alternative suggestions. Mostly, the opposition parties in the state parliaments presented their own counter-proposals. And, though the laws have only recently been enacted, revisions are already being discussed in some states.

The new educational laws replace previous regulations, which, in some cases, had not been passed by the parliaments but simply enacted as directives by the respective ministries. Generally, they achieved legislative conformity at the state level. In some cases, they formed part of a wide-ranging school law, in which the principles of an educational 'constitution' and of decision-making participation within the framework of basic educational policy were expressed. In Lower Saxony, for example, concepts like 'the educational duties of the school' and the 'components of the school system' were stressed. In Bavaria, on the other hand, there has been no new school constitution but only a directive from the Minister of Culture. The state parliaments have operated quite independently of each other and have chosen different courses of action depending on partisan majorities. Through the Konferenz der Kultusminister (Conference of the Ministers of Culture), there had previously been two generally worded declarations on the status of students in the schools (1968 and 1973), but in more specific ways there was little coordination. Even when the concerns were basically the same, the terminology and the concepts used varied from one individual law to another (e.g. for elected student representatives: student representation, student council, student committee, student speaker). The federal school system of the Republic has not become more uniform through this wave of new legislation.

2 Conflicting notions of democracy

In the preambles to the laws referred to above it is directly or indirectly suggested that they contribute to the democratization of the schools. Thereby, a theme is touched upon which entered the discussion of necessary

school reforms during the sixties and which has since then rapidly grown in importance.

The idea of a democratically structured school goes back much further. Thus, in the early years of the Weimar Republic, there were efforts to give students a greater measure of participation in decisions regarding the schools. The criticism of the traditional school constitution has drawn attention to the fact that current school legislation and the administrative structure of the German school system date back to the 'pre-democratic period'.

At the time of the new school laws, little had been changed in the administrative structure of the school system and in the legal status of the teachers. But there had been considerable pressure in respect of active participation by the students in the work of the school. The concept of student-shared responsibility (SMV = Schülermitverantwortung) had been introduced with great expectations after the Second World War. However, the interest of the student in this process soon faded, partly because of the non-political, restorative climate of the Federal Republic in the fifties, partly because SMV afforded the students no substantial rights. Requirements for democratization were later re-activated, vocalized, and radicalized, primarily through a spread of influence into the schools of the student movement in the sixties. The students protested against authoritarian instruction, against outmoded or tedious content of courses, and against their lack of rights in the schools. A number of teachers also became active. The Union for Education and Science (GEW = Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft) gave particular support to the students. It also sought increased rights for teachers in their relationships with state school administrations. Those with political responsibility in parties and parliaments could not ignore these forces and came, in part to support their requirements. In the end, hardly anyone was not 'for democratization'.

However, the groups involved identified with (and continue to identify with) different concepts of democracy. Common to all was the general statement that the school should prepare students for a democratic society. For conservative forces, this has meant specifically that students have to gain an understanding of institutional power distribution, of formal democratic rules of the game, of the limitations of political activities and of their effect at a sub-parliamentary level. At the other end of the scale, there are positions which recognize conflicts of interest and see conflicts as basic societal expression; which see the solving of conflicts through a politicized student body as an expression of basic democracy. In between, there are different viewpoints which, while admitting that the notion of a democratic school as a training ground for democracy is meaningless without political or other conflicts of interest, attempt to keep the extent of possible disquiet within clearly set limits. The effect of these circumstances on school laws is that, when it comes down to details, differing and contradictory statements are made regarding participation in the decision-making process in the schools. Further, it is not only a question of the politicization of students and teachers and of their right to participate in the decision making process. For many, the idea of democratization means the same thing as school reform leading to the elimination of inequality of educational opportunity, the establishment of comprehensive schools, etc.

In two respects, democratization in the narrow sense of the word is

realized by the most recent school laws. First, they accept that teachers, students, and parents should have improved opportunities to become co-responsible in the schools. Second, at the top political level, i.e. in the parliaments, school administrations are given a stronger position of public responsibility. Traditionally, though parliaments could to a certain extent control the Ministers of Culture, they had in fact little influence on the enormous apparatus of the school bureaucracies which they headed. Important concerns of the schools did not come to the attention of parliament at all. They were handled by the ministers by means of directives. In this sense, the recognized rights of parents and students often had no legal basis. Through the school laws, some of these participatory rights have been more solidly based. In other respects, for instance regarding decisions on educational experiments, the responsibility of the Ministers of culture is limited and, to a corresponding degree, that of the parliament extended.

Due to their origin in a climate of sharpened political consciousness and confrontation, the school laws have contradictory features. One of their intentions seemingly, is to mollify the criticism of 'democratic deficit' - which has been recognized as justified - and to expand the areas of activity of students and parents. On the other hand, reservations against basic democratic movements have grown concurrently. Starting from certain experiences in the higher education system, and disquieted by growing numbers of young teachers involved in political and social criticism, parliaments and school officials have increasingly attempted in the last few years to keep or restore political peace within the school system. While promoting democracy, the school laws have at the same time taken on a clearly restrictive character. This can be partly explained in conceptual terms, and partly in terms of amendments accepted during the legislative process, innovations which were rapidly revoked, and the introduction of regulations limiting their application.

3 Improving school administration through decentralization

School administration in the German states can be characterized as centralised and bureaucratic. The Ministry of Culture, a part of the state government, is in charge of all concerns in the school. The schools, as subordinate agencies, are totally dependent on the directives of the hierarchically constructed apparatus of the cultural administration. Local communities are responsible for the administration of 'external' school business (e.g. construction and maintenance of school buildings) though the fulfilment of such tasks is increasingly dependent on directives from central state agencies. But they have no influence on the 'inner' structure of the school. The activities of the teachers are controlled by school inspectors.

In the last decade, there has been no lack of criticism of the fundamentals of traditional school administration. It has been emphasized that this system is rooted in the concept of the absolutist state and reflects the requirements thereof; even today it is obvious that at that time, the state maintained its power as opposed to denominational and communal school operators and thus established a kind of central policing of the entire school system. In such a model, there is no room for true self-administration at lower levels, nor for the participation concept.

Farsighted critics (e.g. Hellmut Becker, 1954) emphasized twenty years ago that every effort at pedagogical progress in the 'administrated school'

would encounter obstacles at the very outset. The opinion that the administrative structure is a hindrance to modernization of the school system has grown in importance and become more widespread with the growing reform tendencies of the sixties. School officials have been accused of not being efficient, of administrating rather than stimulating, of controlling rather than counselling, of preventing rather than promoting innovations. It has become obvious, especially in connection with comprehensive school experiments and curriculum reforms, that the administration reacts too slowly to the problems of a school system in a period of change. School reforms, argue the critics, are not possible without concurrent administrative reforms.

The conditions in the Federal Republic are such that an extensive reform of school administration is possible only in conjunction with a reform of state administration, of which it is a part. The organizational principles - which regulate the regional and functional structure of administration and personnel efforts - would have to be radically revised. The necessity of an extensive administrative reform has also been discussed publicly during the last decade. Reform attempts have been developed on the highest level by the state administrations themselves. However, they have remained conceptually careful and have not advanced far in practice. Investigations have shown that the consciousness of reform needs is low among administrators. Opposition against administrative reforms is voiced by many groups and for very different reasons.

There is far-reaching consensus on two facets of administrative reform. One is the thought that administrative efficiency must be improved. The concrete implications of this, however, are either controversial or vague. Relative to the schools, it is emphasized in this context that modern school management is necessary. The other is the anticipation of a certain decentralization of tasks; a transfer of responsibilities from upper to lower levels in the administration - though not at the expense of the rights of the superior agencies to intervene. Thus, the idea of improved efficiency rather than that of democratization is behind this effort, but there is also a certain affinity with the demands for self-administration at the level of individual schools.

Just as the idea of democratization is controversial, so is the concept of improved efficiency. Critics stress that the delegation of decision-making authority and the participation of persons concerned must be unconditional parts of school reform. Those responsible for administration are also in favour of improved efficiency, and they also agree that a certain decentralization seems required in this respect. The step to real participation, however, seems an act of impossible self-denial to the state school inspection authorities.

4 The Educational Council and the necessities of administrative reform and participation

The 'Structural Plan for the Educational System' presented in 1970 by the Educational Council (Bildungsrat), has not lost its topicality; it is still the most important document of a reform-oriented educational policy, and it is still far from realization. Given its brief, the Educational Council's document was only able to recommend. For, although the cultural administrations of the states are represented on the Council, the positions it takes are not of a mandatory nature. Nevertheless, the connection between school reform and administrative reform is spelled out clearly in

the structural plan. Moreover a further recommendation entitled 'On the Reform of the Organization and Administration of the Educational System. Part I: Increased Independence of the Schools and Participation by Teachers, Students, and Parents' was presented in May of 1973. As the title shows, this document relates to the level of the individual school. Part II which dealt with the reform of administration above the school level could not be agreed upon as a 'recommendation' but was presented to the public in February, 1974, as a 'report'. The failure to reach a consensus regarding Part II within a body which is generally very good at achieving compromise stemmed from the violent opposition within and outside the Educational Council against Part I of the recommendation. Even Part I had been published only after the addition of a minority reservation. This indicates what an incendiary issue the Council had taken upon itself to deal with.

The above mentioned recommendation of the Educational Commission (Bildungskommission) did not refer directly to any of the theoretical foundations of an organizational and administrative reform which had previously been discussed. It does not concern itself primarily with school as preparation for democracy, nor with a general democratization of the educational system. Rather, it attempts to 'understand and structure teaching and learning primarily in connection with the social organization of the people concerned' (Ingo Richter). The Commission had in mind the school as a living institution in which the persons directly participating needed new models of interaction in order to master the tasks and problems of the present. In practice, however, it leads to positions which in principle contradict pedagogic, administrative, and political traditions in Germany.

The central task of the school, the instruction of students through teachers, is what the recommendation attempts to put on a new basis in regard to content and legislation. The content and methodology of instruction should no longer be prescribed in detail from the centre as had previously been the case. Instead of such directives, a new framework of guidelines should be established, in which only the broad principles of schooling in the school system, ensuring a necessary amount of uniformity are stated. Within this framework, the schools should have considerable room for organizing themselves. State school inspection should develop away from a primarily controlling function into one which is primarily advisory. One could say that the numerous other suggestions in the recommendation serve mainly to concretize and support this core thought.

The Educational Commission recommends far-reaching participatory functions in several respects relating to the most vehemently discussed issues in the school laws: the schools should have a right to appoint their own teachers; they should participate in decisions on school administration through suggestions or through elected representatives; they should be able to decide on temporary as well as collective forms of school leadership. Committees should be established for various task areas within the school, and these should have the right to decide on a range of issues, in particular questions regarding curriculum, personnel, and finances, which so far have not been within the schools' area of competence. Representatives of the parents and students should participate in these committees, and a majority of teacher representatives is anticipated. In addition to the committees, forums are envisaged, in which teachers, students, and parents could discuss the problems of instructional models. Further, students and parents would be allowed their own organizations where they might articulate

and promote their interests relative to the school and to different levels of school administration.

Some of these issues are not new. Here, as in the school laws, a core is merely demonstrated through the detail of the directives. The recommendation remains generally worded on several important questions, but it is evident that its main effort is directed at illustrating the connection between independence of individual schools and participation, and at requiring a freedom of action and experimentation which does not at present exist.

Public reaction to the recommendation of the Educational Council was divided. It was welcomed by some representatives of the SPD and the FDP; by others it was received with obvious reservation. The GEW did not find it sufficiently decisive. Representatives of CDU/CSU were generally negative - going so far as to accuse the recommendation of being in conflict with the Constitution. The two states of Bavaria and Baden-Wurttemberg saw it as an additional incentive to demand the elimination of the Educational Council. Conservative forces warned particularly of the danger to the unity of the school system which the recommendation threatened. In their view, inequality of educational opportunity would increase, and ingrained administrative principles would be abandoned. For the individual schools, they foresaw chaos as a result of changing majorities. According to them, participation would lead to unbearable additional burdens for all concerned and would ruin the efficiency of the school. Teachers who were exhorted to independence and participation shared the last-mentioned argument through position papers by some of their organizations. Hardly a single group accepted the recommendation without reservations.

Basically, the critics of the recommendation were concerned most of all with the question of power and political control. This becomes obvious when one investigates the relationship of school laws in the SPD/FDP dominated states to the recommendations by the Educational Council. Though these states sought to align themselves with several items in the recommendation, the political parties could not decide to grant substantial independence to the school or to indicate clear limitations of state control over them. In the conservatively dominated states, the recommendation has been rather demonstrably ignored as a guideline for educational legislation. The entire process offers evidence of the immediate political inefficacy of the Educational Council. However, the authors of the recommendation were clearly aware that their ideas were far ahead of current reality in the Federal Republic. At the same time, they had no doubts about the correctness of the road they had chosen.

The report of a German/Swedish commission points in the same direction as the recommendation by the Educational Council. This bi-national commission was formed on the initiative of the heads of state in both countries and given the task to formulate a position paper on the democratization of the educational system. The suggestions of this commission go even further than those by the Educational Council; they make it clear that democratization cannot be achieved piecemeal but must come out of a total concept of educational and social policy. However, so far, the political authorities addressed by this commission have preferred to ignore its report.

5 The most important points of the school laws and their reception by the public

The legal position of the school laws is complicated. They consist of many details and are arranged in a completely different manner in each individual

state. The main trends emphasized in what follows, involve inevitable simplification. What is presented is limited to those points which most immediately concern the participation problems: co-decision in appointment of school leaders, cooperation by students and parents in the school, rights of parents and students in relation to central educational administration. These are also the points concerning which there is greatest public awareness. Comparatively, we will concentrate on the city states of Hamburg (SPD/FDP) and West Berlin (SPD) and the state of Rhineland-Palatinate (CDU).

Traditionally, the head of a school has a strong position. He can give advice to teachers and can act on behalf of his superior officials, for whom he serves as the executive agent. In the past, he was usually appointed for life by the school authorities. Participation concepts, and also the recommendation from the Education Council, insist on three requirements: the teachers have a right to participate in the selection of a school head; school heads are to be appointed for limited time periods; and corporate forms of school leadership should be possible. Hamburg's school law anticipates the formation of 'search' committees half of whose members will be elected representatives of the school (the students also being indirectly represented thereby) which, after public advertising of the vacant position, submits suggested candidates to teachers' committees. These will make a majority decision based on the suggestions. If there should be no (absolute) majority for one candidate, the school authority decides. In Berlin, the official authorities select candidates and present at least two for the vote of a common committee, which must make its decision by absolute majority. Teachers, parents, and students are represented in this common committee. In Rhineland-Palatinate, the law requires that at state schools, the school head should be appointed in agreement with the local school authority. In Hamburg, the head of a school is appointed for ten years after a two-year probationary period, and the school committee must agree to his appointment. In Lower Saxony, a collective leadership of the school has been made possible. CDU representatives have rejected the election of school heads; even constitutional reservations have been put into effect. States ruled by SPD/FDP have developed different models for participation. However, all have provisions regarding the school officials, though some have not introduced time-limited or corporate school leadership clauses. Student representatives have frequently demanded a stronger degree of participation. As for the teachers, even conservative organisations have spoken in favour of a certain degree of participation in decisions regarding the appointment of head teachers.

In all the school laws, the role of 'conferences' as bodies for self administration has been treated extensively. With regard to participation, emphasis must be given to 'school conferences' as they are called in Hamburg and Berlin, and to the special school committees (Rhineland-Palatinate). These bodies have tripartite representation of teachers, students, and parents. They are expressly conceived as integrative bodies; they serve 'the cooperation between the groups at the school'; they are to 'promote cooperation', to negotiate in case of conflicts, etc. In addition to 'hearing' rights ('...the school conference is to hear...') they also have some decision-making powers among which that pertaining to participation in educational experimentation may be the only important one; otherwise, they may decide on such things as holidays, fund-raising activities, etc. It is probably not an accident that the otherwise conflicting political

parties came up with the same model in this respect. When material rights could hardly be granted, the notion of triple parity offered itself as a democratic gesture.

The question of participation is even more critical for the teacher committees, in which rather important decisions for the school are to be made. The law in Hamburg allows the teachers' committee to invite other persons. In Rhineland-Palatinate, members of the special school committee may have advisory functions. In Berlin, two student representatives and two parent representatives participate in an advisory function. In Lower Saxony, student representatives and parents are allowed to vote in the Committee.

In addition to these points, the laws contain comprehensive and detailed discussions regarding participation by students and parents. Among the technical regulations for election, composition, and procedures of various bodies, their real rights are difficult to discover. Often they are reduced to statements to the effect that students/parents representatives ' 'are to be informed', or 'are to be heard', or 'may declare their position', etc. The question of how actively and in what form the student bodies may take political positions has been regarded as particularly critical. In this respect, the laws either state clear restrictions from the beginning, or else they give the head of the school far-reaching rights to control and intervene.

Several models for participation have also been developed at state level for contact between the state Ministry of Culture and representatives from various groups. In Hamburg and Berlin, there is a state school advisory council (Landesschulbeirat), in which not only teachers, students, and parents are represented but also employee and employer organizations and other citizen organizations. These councils are conceived of as integration bodies which 'serve the cooperation between the groups immediately concerned with the school system'. They 'advise', 'state their position', and are 'given information' by the Minister of Culture on certain questions. Rhineland-Palatinate has not created such an agency.

There have been greater differences regarding the authority of parent and student committees on the state level. In some states, certain such bodies had become extremely active politically, so that the new legislative regulations triggered an interest in increased power on both sides. In Berlin, the tasks of the state councils of students and of parents have been limited to serving the work of the state school council. In Rhineland-Palatinate, the rights have been clearly portioned out: the parents' committee advises the Minister of Culture; he may make recommendations, and in certain questions, the Minister is to 'reach an agreement with the committee' (which does not commit the Minister to anything); the student council may, it is stated, express opinions on student concerns. In Hamburg, the central parent representation has similar responsibilities and rights to its counterpart in Rhineland-Palatinate. However, the central student representation has equal rights and responsibilities. The development in Lower Saxony has been typical. In the draft law written by the Minister of Culture, there was provision for an existing state-parent council to be discontinued. The previous state parent council mobilized a protest and threatened to make a constitutional complaint. Thereupon, it was reinstated in the law. However, it did not receive the right of veto against regulations by the Minister of Culture which it had demanded. Following the last elections, when the FDP emerged as a coalition partner with the

SPD, a change in the law was forced through, allowing the state councils of parents and students to veto the Minister of Culture's proposals if they have a two thirds' majority. If this happens, he must turn to the Cabinet, for a final decision.

The differences between the states can only be partly ascribed to the respective majority parties. In a number of matters progressive and conservative groups approach each other across party lines. Moreover, the same parties have varying profiles from one state to another. It is informative to compare the arguments of the government and opposition parties with each other. The CDU in Hamburg was against the increased powers of the school conference (it decides the appointment of the school heads, as mentioned above) and against the triple parity of this body, which, on the other hand, has been introduced by the CDU in Rhineland-Palatinate. In Lower Saxony, the CDU supported the demands of the state parent council, but when not only the parent council but also the state student council received veto rights the party changed its mind. In Hesse and North Rhine-Westphalia, the CDU opposition was vehemently in favour of increased parent power (said CDU party leader Koppler: 'The Social Democrats fear parent power as the devil fears holy water'). But there are no such rights in Rhineland-Palatinate, and the Bavarian CSU has also spoken out against them. In Hamburg, the CDU even criticized the fact that the school laws had not widened the limits of students' activities. But an SPD speaker replied that, so far, he had heard this argument only from extreme leftist student groups. In Berlin, the CDU and the FDP (which was at that time still in opposition) were in agreement that the new school constitution offered a 'maze of groups and boards' and a 'fake democracy'. As a generalization, it may be said that the majority parties were constantly accused of not having gone far enough in regard to participation; at the same time they were told that the regulations that had been passed had limited the ability of the school to function or had placed additional loads on students and teachers. On the other hand, it is impossible to say how far the opposition party at the time would itself have been prepared to accept philosophically different solutions had it been in government. Discussion of the school laws in the parliaments offers many examples of opportunist argument without firm principles.

If one follows the position of concerned organizations, the field of interest in this question becomes clearer. Of the large groups, the GEW demanded the most far-reaching participation (though still surpassed by the demands voiced by student groups and the Young Socialists). In Schleswig-Holstein and Baden-Wurttemberg, the ruling CDU came into conflict with its own youth organizations, the demands of which were closer to those of the FDP and the SPD than to those of the CDU. The teacher organizations and parent groups showed obvious differences depending upon whether they were closer to the comprehensive school (Hauptschule) or the traditional high schools (Gymnasien). One may deduce from these differences that the argumentation is principally determined by group and state political considerations, whereas concepts of a modern school hardly played any role at all.

6 Legislative tendencies regarding school constitutions

The school system of the Federal Republic of Germany has not been basically changed through the new school laws. Rather, participation has been built into the existing system of school administration. This means that the room for decision making at the school level has not really been increased.

Moreover, the controlling power of the state's school authority has not been limited. Thus, the central notion of the Educational Council's recommendation has not been realised. The charge of fake democratization is justified.

In practice, this means that only a few rights of substance have been won for teachers, students, and parents who take part in important decisions and who, if need be, oppose the demands of the school supervisory authorities. Any attempt by the participating groups to exercise the powers granted to them, and thereby to voice other interests than those of the school administration, will rapidly come up against the limits set for them. The definition of these limits has been strongly emphasised in the school laws and in amendments to them, and have been extended as far as this has been possible. Since participation in these bodies is always combined with sacrifices of time and energy, widespread disappointment might easily result. The new school laws hide in themselves the danger that the participation concept will ultimately be brought into disrepute.

On the other hand, they do give participation a chance. In many respects, participatory rights have in fact been widened. This is especially so in states ruled by the SPD/FDP groups. Perhaps the rights granted offer a stimulus to further demands. Possibly this might derive from a comparison between the states. If one were to put together sections of what has been said in the laws of one state with sections of what has been said in the laws of other states, a respectable participation model would emerge. One sign of progress is that some laws are based on the diverse interests of school administrators, teachers, students, and parents. This creates a more realistic basis for participation than the opinion that integration is at the same time the prerequisite and the goal of all school groups.

One may hope that, insofar as there will be more interaction than before between the concerned groups, the school laws will lead to a change in the climate. Reports of what is actually taking place point in this direction. Perhaps co-action is as important as co-decision. Perhaps cooperation and involvement are more important than the existence of formal rights. It would be in accordance with German tradition if everything turned out to need a legislative stamp in every detail before it became possible to proceed to action; and if action would then need to be strictly in accordance with the letter of the law. It would be a new trait of democratic and political culture (that is, new for Germany) if room for action in an un-bureaucratic manner turns out to have been offered, and if the determination of rights were arrived at through practical experience.

The existence of a liberal climate in the body politic is truly a prerequisite for such liberal handling of the school laws. Here, the trend is currently in the opposite direction. The fear of 'radicals in public service' dominates many politically responsible people. Cases multiply where teachers and students become suspected of political radicalism because of activities which emanate from a participatory understanding of democracy. Restrictive interpretations of legal regulations on one side go hand in hand with insecurity on the other side. Where conflict arises it becomes obvious that only those rights are respected which can be defended in court. How much of the democratic intentions of the new school laws will actually become part of everyday life in the schools remains to be seen.

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10 PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATIONAL DECISION-MAKING IN AUSTRIA

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The present state of educational reform in Austria may be characterized as a latent conflict between a 'classical' bureaucracy of educational administration and the multiple challenge of 'democratizing' the educational system. While the ideology of broadening participation in the process of educational decision-making shows features common to the majority of European school reforms, certain structures and developments within the administrative-bureaucratic context of Austrian education seem to counteract participatory intentions and render them partly futile.

I The hypertrophy of the 'principle of legality'

Pre-eminent among these counter-participatory factors is the dominance of legalism in all spheres of education. As in the constitution of many other countries it is laid down in the Austrian constitution that all state (public) administration must be based on legislation. According to the 'official' interpretation of jurists of the Ministry of Education - which has found its way into the textbooks for student teachers and which also appears in a recent book of a key figure in Austrian school politics - both teaching and any other kind of teacher behaviour are 'acts of administration' and therefore have to comply with the decrees and rules of the Ministry in which concepts such as 'area of professional autonomy or self determination', 'grass root development', 'teacher initiative' etc. are non-existent.[1]

The latest manifestations of the 'principle of legality' and its evident unsuitability to the 'professional domain' of education are the Fourth Amendment (1971) to the 'School Organization Act 1962' (SchOG 1962) and the 'School Instruction Act 1974' (SchUG 1974).[2]

The 1971 amendment to the SchOG 1962 had one central purpose: the legalisation of school experiments with 'comprehensive schools' (essentially hardly more than the introduction of streaming and setting in otherwise largely unaltered secondary modern schools). Within the narrowly defined framework of these experimental activities - they were designed in ways analogous to 'classical' controlled psychological experiments comparing experimental with traditional schools as regards their 'efficiency', with all other factors (objectives, curricula etc.) kept 'constant' - there is no legal provision for 'development', modification or improvement of the given models through the teachers involved. 'Flexible grouping' is not among the legally allowed types of differentiation and could not be practised even if teachers wanted. (Fortunately for the administration most teachers don't know about it or don't want it anyway.)

The SchUG 1974 - product of more than ten years of political negotiations - is a comprehensive and detailed legal statement governing all aspects of 'the inner life of schools', and reducing the participation of teachers and pupils in intra-school decision-making to nothing more than legal hermeneutics.

II The shaping of a national educational policy and the central administration

In Austria educational legislation has a constitutional character and therefore must be passed in parliament by a qualified (i.e. two thirds)

majority. As the political scene of Austria is dominated by two almost equally strong parties, the Socialist Party and the (conservative) People's Party, educational reform is bound to avoid polarization and to aim for compromise.

Until 1969 the confrontation between the more progressive minded Socialist Party and the conservative People's Party took place within the parliamentary subcommittee on education, whose 'confidentiality' and lack of transparency allowed only for a low level of control by the 'educational public'. In 1969 a sobering moment came for this type of politics when a fundamental issue of the SchOG 1962, the prolongation of the selective secondary school from 8 to 9 years (which had been passed in parliament only 7 years before with a majority of about 95%) was successfully attacked by an independently organized and strongly supported initiative for a referendum. The extra year of secondary education had to be suspended, the Minister of Education resigned and his successor set up a 'School Reform Commission' (SRC).

As it turned out, the basic pattern of 'coalition politics' with its fixation on the legal status quo, its uncommitted 'Realpolitik' and its tabooing of controversial issues such as 'true' comprehensivization of the lower secondary stage, did not change. Nevertheless the attempted referendum was interpreted as a sympton of deeprooted discomfort with the structure and functioning of the school system as well as with the 'style' of school reform.

The School Reform Commission consists of

Representatives of the political parties who are members of the parliamentary subcommittee on education;

presidents of provincial educational authorities;

delegates of the major teachers' organizations and the teachers' union;

representatives of socialist and catholic parents' associations and youth organisations;

university professors of education;

civil servants from the Ministry of Education.

It is the aim of the SRC 'to discuss all essential matters pertinent to school reform'. Five subcommissions deal with problems such as 'structure of the school system', 'teacher training', 'teaching methods', etc., but, so far, there has not been the slightest attempt to discuss the bureaucratic framework of the reform or the process of decision making with reference to the teachers' role in school experiments.

The chances of comprehensive public participation in the process of framing educational policy on the national level are as low as ever. Due to the confidentiality of the SRC's sessions (which may be lifted only by unanimous decision) the possibilities of unbiased information or of 'feed-back' (to say nothing of 'control') are very limited.

The occasional leaflet 'Schulreform', a de-problematized and melioristic coverage of the SRC's activities by the ministerial press agency does more to obscure the different views on fundamental issues of reform than to point them out. No outsider - the general public is an 'outsider' as well - can find out whether factual arguments or the interests of a specific group have resulted in the abandoning of this or that reform initiative.

It is not surprising that the centralized and hierarchically organized educational administration has a powerful status and strong influence both in the running of schools and the shaping of educational policy. It does not seem to be an insignificant fact that 40% of the graduates employed by the Ministry of Education are lawyers while only a handful are social scientists.[3]

The abstract appreciation of 'democratization' is not accompanied by factual decentralization or delegation of substantial competences from the top to the 'bottom' of the hierarchy, i.e. the school level. Ministerial civil servants have difficulties in departing from the traditional 'frictionless business-as-usual' administration of the status quo and in adopting innovatory practices. Moreover, due to a lack of relevant publications and of broad public discussion, concepts of 'grass root development at the school level' or of 'professional autonomy' are either unknown or disqualified as 'utopian', 'political' or 'irresponsible'.

The system of school inspection cannot be considered a promoter of participation either: it is still based on 'provisional' decrees dating from 1869(!) and 1899(!), and it would be quite futile to expect a change of role of the inspectorate from that of a controlling agency to that of a stimulating one under these circumstances.

III School reform and school experiments

In the process of shaping a school-reform strategy 'academic educational research' has played a rather unspectacular role. The reduction of educational research to an instrument for the evaluation of politically predetermined concepts and models has brought about a situation whose awkwardness is just beginning to be realized.[4] Due to a lack of scientific creativity, a lack of analysis of developments in other countries, and a lack of criticism of ministerial reform intentions Austria has got stuck with a naive and conservative concept of 'comprehensive schools'. She is also stuck with an approach towards the evaluation of school experiments - comparison between comprehensive and traditional schools - which has been rejected as unsuitable in England and Sweden quite some time ago.

The legal fixation of the experimental types of grouping and the research design of 'controlled comparison' does not leave scope for teachers' participation in developing, improving, and adapting the new types of grouping according to specific needs of a given school. Whenever the discussion comes round to the 'engagement' of teachers in experimental schools the predominant argument is that their 'pioneering attitudes' might 'falsify' the outcome of the evaluation. Unsurprisingly the concept of action research has not yet found its way into policy-making circles.

Instead of inviting (and enabling) teachers to engage in a creative scrutiny of curricula, grouping, examining, and ways of teacher cooperation etc., authorities have further reduced the small sphere of didactic freedom through detailed 'suggestions' concerning subject matter, timing of lessons, examinations,etc.

'Scientific advisors', in many cases school inspectors who are the epitomy of bureaucratic control anyway, look after the 'homogeneity' of conditions in experimental schools.

Finally, however large the number of teachers willing to participate in reform activities might be - the number of schools engaged in certain

by the SchUG (although this is what the literal meaning of the acts name implies). There may be teachers willing to discuss their way of teaching with their pupils and abiding by jointly agreed rules, but the rule-concept and behaviour predominant among Austrian teachers is undoubtedly 'autocratic'. Teacher-centred frontal instruction is the most widely used way of teaching.

The gravest barrier against closer pupil-teacher-cooperation is the system of teacher-centred assessment of achievement. Traditional unmoderated examinations by the teacher - with their unreliability and openness to personal bias - are generally felt as instruments of teacher-power and pupil-subjection. There are some other reasons why pupil-teacher interaction tends to be rather formal and restricted to the classroom:

- Austrian schools barely have provisions for 'pastoral care';
- Provisions for extra-curricular activities are either poor or non-existent due to the overcrowding of most secondary schools;
- Teachers interpret their 'teaching obligation' rather strictly and spend much less time in schools than for example English teachers;
- Due to conservative and unimaginative school architecture even many new schools lack 'social areas'.

The teacher's freedom to choose teaching material and school books is limited and the pupils' chance to participate in this choice even more so : teaching material and school books are provided free by the state, but the teacher's wishes have to comply with the ministry's list of eligible books.

Cooperative activities between teachers are rare and team-teaching is virtually non-existent. The staff does not have a say in the appointment of a headmaster, not even in experimental schools.

V . School and community

The links between schools and the local community are usually weak and formal, especially in the case of selective secondary schools which are 'federal schools'.

Parents are ritually (and legally) excluded from the classroom from the 'first schoolday'. Parental involvement remains restricted to

(a) 'Sprechtage' (days on which parents may inquire about the scholastic standing of their children) or the odd school play or concert;

(b) 'parents' associations', so far only existing in selective secondary schools and traditionally a domain of energetic upper middle class parents with fund-raising abilities;

(c) parents as members of 'school community councils', either elected or delegated through the parents' association.

There are no signs of a movement to broaden the schools' functions in order to make them 'social and cultural centres of a neighbourhood or a local community' as discernible in other countries. Some schools serve as centres of adult-education in the evenings, but the great majority of Austrian schools is literally 'closed to the public'.

experiments is limited by law and must not exceed 10% of any type of school in each province.

IV The 'democratization' of school life

Since the autumn of 1974 the 'School Instruction Act' has been legal basis for all types of interaction within schools. The ideology of a 'family-like community free of conflict' contrasts sharply with the massive regulations of all aspects of school life and the introduction of elaborate pseudo-parliamentary procedures. Through the SchUG pupils are definitely incorporated into the bureaucratic structure of the school system, and the official commentary to the act interprets 'participation' not as 'co-determination' but as 'co-administration'.[5]

Pupils may elect 'class' and 'school speakers' who have a series of 'rights':

(a) 'rights of cooperation'

- the right 'to be heard'
- the right to make suggestions
- the right to get information
- the right to take part in those parts of teachers' conferences which are 'relevant to pupils', but with the definite exclusion from all matters of examination and pupils' assessment.....

All these 'rights' are nothing more than the possibility to express wishes. All decisions are the sole responsibility of the teachers.

(b) 'rights of participation'

- in decisions concerning the school regulations
- in decisions concerning 'educational measures', such as various types of punishment
- in decisions concerning the expulsion of a pupil from the school

According to the SchUG 'school community councils' consisting of the headmaster and three representatives of teachers, parents and pupils are to be set up in the upper secondary stage of all types of school (for pupils from the age of 14 upwards). An original proposal wished to organize the council bilaterally, i.e. consisting only of pupils and teachers, but due to a conservatively inspired amendment parents' representatives had to be included. The significance of this modification lies, firstly, in the fact that the degree and the areas of 'pupils' participation' in inner-school matters and the 'rights' of the pupils' representatives are defined by the 'school community councils', and, secondly, in the large scale conservativeness of Austrian parents in educational matters and their manifest tendencies towards submission to the schools' (or teachers') points of view.

It is still too early to expect empirical evidence on the new Act's impact, but there are first indications of a pseudo-parliamentarian formalism and a 'work-to-rule' attitude both among teachers and pupils with more attention to the 'letter' than to the 'spirit' of the act.

In remarkable contrast to the discussion of participation in the German Federal Republic the ideology of 'school as a community free of conflict' has not yet been problematized or even criticised; the concept of 'conflict' is as absent in the act and its commentary as reference to strategies of conflict solution.[6]

The 'sovereignty' of the teacher within the classroom will hardly be changed

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11 THE PREPARATION OF MIDDLE GRADE CENTRES IN BERLIN BY TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN TRAINING SCHEMES AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT: PARTICIPATION STRATEGIES IN CURRICULUM REVISION AND SOME ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

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1 The Gesamt School as an Experiment and as a Standard School

Development of Gesamt schools began in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1966 based on the Anglo-Saxon model of the comprehensive school. The concept of the Gesamt school was carried through politically as a centrally -planned, scientifically backed and supervised experiment which was intended to help rationalize political decisions to be taken at some later date. At the same time development of the Gesamt school was associated with quantitative expansion of an onward-going general education schooling system. The central features of the incipient Gesamt school reform are therefore:

(a) scientific backing and supervision of a centrally controlled programme;

(b) possible reversal of policies involving development of Gesamt schools;

(c) expansions of capacities within the schooling system by the foundation of new schools.[1]

The characteristic feature of such newly established trial schools is, on the one hand, relatively close linkage to the central level of schools administration and, on the other hand, existence of wide freedom of manoeuvre for self-development. Anchorage of schools in the Schools Administration system was primarily intended as a reliable means of coping with possible political conflicts. The participational freedom arose automatically out of an administration planning deficit (Gesamt school teachers as the backbone of the reform) and in the end proved to be a basis for teachers identifying themselves with the reform programme. Since scientific backing and support for individual schools was only available in exceptional cases this development became even more pronounced. This led to a situation where the idea of central planning and scientific control tended increasingly to recede in favour of diversification of individual schools, so that the experimental character appeared more and more fictitious in view of the personal involvement of those participating.

Such a development however becomes problematical whenever the political decision becomes imminent as to whether to raise a trial school to the status of a standard school existing beside other types of schools in these circumstances:

(a) The experimental concept has to be left behind since it has fulfilled its political function; however the scientific rewards of the experiment remain to be reaped;

(b) On quantitative expansion it becomes necessary for Gesamt schools to be transferred to a routine administrational framework. This demands a certain degree of curricular and organisational standardization which may result in a cut-back of reforms and curtailment of freedom of action;

(c) The educational programme of the Gesamt school must be demonstrated to the public with a clarity comparable to that existing for other schools. When the development of a Gesamt school is codified in terms of

curricula, it becomes politically discussable.

From the point of view of school administrators these are problems of political legitimation and of control of Gesamt schools. From the point of view of teachers, these problems involve questions of approval of and participation in the processes of innovation.

In West Berlin the scheme for raising the Gesamtschule to the status of a regular school was launched in 1972 with the founding of 13 so-called 'Middle Grade Centres'. In this connection problems of political legitimation and control of Gesamt schools, as well as questions of participation by the teachers were concentrated in a teacher training scheme by means of which future Gesamt school teachers were to be prepared for their work while at the same time participating in curricular and organisational decision-making processes. This constellation provided the impetus for a parallel record study carried out by a Study Group from the Max-Planck-Institut fur Bildungsforschung with the aim, amongst others, of arriving at empirical conclusions on the possible conditions required for participation.[2]

2 Preparations made for Middle Grade Centres by teachers' further education schemes and by curricular development

The starting point for planning work on Middle Grade Centres in Berlin was an analysis of the predicted growth in the number of pupils up to 1980 which suggested that a 50% rise was to be anticipated for such numbers in the middle grades from 1970 to 1976 (i.e. grades 7 to 10). Thereupon the Senate of Berlin decided to build 13 so-called Middle Grade Centres. These involved building-complexes constructed by series production methods each accommodating 40 school classes or 1,200 pupils. Within the schools administration sector it remained a point of contention as to the extent to which a solution to the quantitative problem taking the form of an extension in capacity could be linked with a qualitative reform programme. Thus for a long time no agreement was reached on whether Middle Grade Centres should be operated as School Centres in which traditional types of schools were to be grouped together additively under one roof or whether such Centres should be run as integrated Gesamt schools for the area of Secondary Grade I. In the end the decision to operate these 13 Middle Grade Centres as integrated comprehensive schools with all-day schooling means that when all the school complexes have been put into operation, one quarter of all pupils in Secondary Grade I will be receiving integrated education.[3] Thus the Gesamt school whose trial phase has already been completed from a legal point of view will indeed become a standard school existing side by side with other school types.

An increase in number of this school type, individual examples of which had undergone separate development, largely isolated one from another, imposed increased pressure on the schools administration sectors. It had to create the necessary conditions both from the point of view of content and organisation to permit easy transfer of the experimental reform programme into routine administration. This implied a certain pressure towards curricular and organisational standardization and towards the construction of a common infra-structure. It also required accepting an obligation towards political legitimation. In these circumstances, a further education scheme in which teachers participate in the compilation and modification of a binding conception for the curricular and extra-curricular field and in the concrete fulfilment of such a conception may

under certain circumstances be of significance for releasing 'productive capacity'. Further, it may act as a method of legitimation and a means of control. Moreover in view of the quantitative side of the overall innovation programme, the administration was somewhat sceptical as to whether sufficiently well qualified teachers, willing to involve themselves personally in an adequate manner could be found for all the schools. There was also uncertainty as to whether, without careful preparation for this new type of school (which would initially have no upper forms), a body of pupils could be found which would be composed in such a manner that tendencies to reproduce one of the traditional types of schools within the framework of the Middle School Centres could be excluded. The obvious solution appeared to be a teachers' further education scheme which was orientated simultaneously at several targets. This appeared advisable from the points of view of political and administrative control, redistribution of the burdens of curricular development, recruitment of teachers, raising levels of competence, and safeguarding the interests of pupils and their parents by means of public relations work.

The practical establishment of such a scheme to prepare teachers for work at Middle Grade Centres entered the realms of the possible as a result of certain accidental circumstances. The successive shift of the beginning of the school year from Spring to Autumn led, every year for a period of several years, to a shortening in the school year. This released some teaching staff capacity from Easter to the summer vacation. The fact that this happened to coincide, purely by chance, with establishment of Middle Grade Centres provided a unique opportunity for many teachers to be released from their classroom work for three months in order to prepare for the change. Further education courses were mounted from 1973 to 1975 from Easter to the summer vacation. Each corresponded to the successive completion of school building complexes. By means of these courses approximately 120 interested teachers were in each case prepared for teaching at integrated all-day schools and were given a chance to participate in development of the curriculum.

The idea behind the scheme included the psychological and didactic preparation of Middle Grade Centre teaching applicants for their new tasks at integrated and differentiated all-day schools. It also offered participation in decisions concerning the curricular framework and in the compilation of detailed curriculum plans for the 7th grade. At the same time it aimed to combine the following: instruction of teachers, responsible participation of teachers in the organisational planning of their schools, active participation in the development of curricula, and the staging of practical trials.[4] Given this approach, the project fitted in, on the one hand, with the trend towards general participation endeavours. On the other, it took up arguments arising in the debate concerning practical in-school curricular development.

3 Extending the role of the Schools Administration sector

The teacher preparation programme was closely linked with the establishment of a 'Curriculum' department within Schools Administration service. Unlike the Schools Supervision department, which is subdivided in accordance with school grades, it fulfils cross-sectional functions (consultation, coordination, etc.). Six so-called moderators were allocated to the department to deal with the following subject areas: 'Work Studies, Fine Arts Creation, English, Social Studies, Mathematics and Physics. These moderators worked within the scope of a trial scheme involving 'short-term'

development of curriculum sequences for the subjects quoted above. Here their task was to coordinate practical curriculum development at Gesamt schools and to enmesh such curricula into Berlin's skeleton plans for instruction and education. The intention was that the results of such development work should eventually be laid down as skeleton regulations or as teaching plans. They would then be revised and, afterwards, would be tried out in the classroom at Middle Grade Centres. Given this procedural perspective, it appeared sensible to entrust the work of running the training courses in the particular subjects, as well as the constructive work, to the innovators. In this way personal continuity was provided between curricular planning and teacher preparation.

4 The Aim of the Parallel Investigation

The investigation carried out parallel to the teachers' further education scheme is to be seen against the background of discussion on the legitimation of curricular decisions as well as in terms of the debate on innovation, whose outcomes in essence stress the necessity for teachers to participate in the process of curriculum revision. However within the scope of this debate, the specific functions of the agencies involved in the curriculum development process (i.e. the school, the structure of knowledge, and schools administration, as well as their mutual interdependence, are not further differentiated. Above all there is a lack of empirical material which would permit more concrete definition. In view of this situation the main intention of our investigation was to clarify the possibility of extensive participation of teachers in curricular decisions under peripheral conditions which favour its development.

The study was designed to concentrate attention in the first place on a thorough examination of the whole complexity of the field under consideration, i.e. to develop statements of a descriptive character. The instruments used in the intended exploration included two questionnaires, open interviews, and observations of participants. In keeping with the above-stated aims, equal attention was devoted to the fields of administration and further education. The latter was examined in both its curricular and extra-curricular facets. For the purpose of observation, events dealing with development of curricula in the subjects German, Mathematics, Work Studies and Social Studies were selected to ensure that approaches in fields of instruction with very different problems could be analysed. Extra-curricular events which were devoted to cross-section problems (assessment of performance, school advisory service, leisure etc.) were included in their entirety. Observations were supplemented by a number of open interviews with moderators and organisers of further education schemes as well as with all highly placed administrative officials who were involved in planning Middle Grade Centres and further education schemes. The account which follows will however be restricted to the consideration of a few problems encountered in the curricular part of the further education programme and to certain related aspects encountered in the mounting of the scheme.[5]

5 Special features of the participation situation in Berlin

In recent literature on political theory it is a striking fact that a large degree of vagueness is associated with the commonly-used concept of participation. This is due particularly to a basic ambiguity inherent in the term.[6]

(1) The concept of participation was introduced in order to define a very

specific demand for the direct involvement of the citizen in political work which concerned him directly and which involved the planning and moulding of his social surroundings. Such participation was intended as a means of supplementing the representative and parliamentary decision-making system by involving persons directly concerned in the planning work.

(2) Simultaneously, however, the term 'participation' is employed in a much more general usage to imply any involvement of groups or individuals in the political decision-making process. Meaning (1) implies, for example, participation of the population in decisions or participation of organized interests in political planning. In this meaning participation involves either existing structures of the political decision-making process or is directed simply at extending the traditional pluralist model.

However, the genuinely new feature of the demand for participation in recent years has been the implication of those concerned. This feature is not intended only to increase the rationality of political decisions. It implies additionally that participation possesses an inherent value in terms of the self-realisation and emancipation experienced by the individual and arising from political involvement.

If in the following discourse we use the word 'participation' in this manner, then we direct our efforts at a theory of political participation which has arisen from criticism voiced against the representative parliamentary decision-making system and its implication in pluralism theories which draw solely on models based on existing competition and compromise between organised social interests. It is characteristic for this form of participation that involvement of those concerned is always achieved in an already-existing political framework. Thus this always involves a complementary relationship of central political outline planning and partial autonomy of individual areas, corporations or organisations which in these areas makes possible participation of those directly affected by political planning.

For participation of this nature two characteristic functions and forms have arisen hitherto:

(1) On the one hand participation of those involved may come to possess a criticism or appeal function towards central State planning. For this form of participation civic movements such as have arisen particularly in the field of town planning in recent years are characteristic.[7]

(2) Alternatively participation may be characterised by continuous co-determination by the members within the organisation. In such cases criticism is not so much of individual planning projects at a specific point in time. Instead, the aims are permanent co-determination within the framework of the plan. Participation of this kind, permanent, direct, and not aimed at individual temporary problems, would appear feasible only within individual organisations. For this type, realistic models of inner-organisational co-determination already exist, especially in relation to co-determination at work, i.e. to works-internal co-determination.

For the case dealt with here, involving participation of teachers in the development of curricula for Middle Grade Centres in Berlin, it happens to be a characteristic feature that such participation is difficult to classify under either of the two typical forms which have taken increasingly clear shape in recent years in the political system of the Federal Republic. Admittedly, in this case too, participation of teachers is primarily

directed at involvement of those concerned in their work in an organisation (in this case a Middle Grade Centre). However, since the Middle Grade Centres were planned not as individual schools but rather as a prototype for a reformed Secondary, Stage I, simultaneous processes were bound to arise involving both co-determination by individual working persons during planning of their job situation and co-determination by individual persons affected by the central planning of educational policies. The offer of participation appealed to the desire of the individual teacher to help design his own future job circumstances and was also able to unite this motivation for participation within the frame of a more general and more abstract central reform of educational policies.

6 The Functions of a Strategy of Participation

A whole series of different functions can be defined for the form of participation relevant here. In this connection considerations must be based on four basic functions. Participation may be directed towards:

(1) Practical establishment of a norm of democratic self-determination;

(2) Improving the quality of decision making;

(3) Releasing 'productive capacity'; and

(4) Obtaining approval for political decisions.

These functional areas demonstrate the basic ambivalence of participation. From the point of view of those being governed it implies increased influence on political decisions on the basis of their own interests; on the other hand from the point of view of those in charge, it also implies a possible means of making sure of political decisions, thus contributing to the stability of the political system. Since this ambivalence is inherent in principle in every participation process it would not appear sensible to play off an allegedly technocratic aspect of participation against a supposedly purely democratic one, or to speak in vague terms of 'genuine participation' and 'pseudo participation'.[9]

The process of participation by teachers in the development of curricula involves all these possible functions. This applies in particular to the ambivalence between practical establishment of a norm of self-determination and the establishment of approval for preliminary decisions on educational policy. In addition to their political legitimation, curricular decisions require for their effective implementation a readiness on the part of the teacher to grant his approval. If this is sabotaged such curricular decisions may fail completely when put into practice in the classroom. Thus school administrations must aim in their curricular decisions at creating both general support and specific support.[9] For this purpose participation of teachers in curricular decision-making processes would appear to be an effective means. However this must also include an opportunity for democratic broadening of the values and interests which are taken into consideration and an improvement in the quality of decision-making.[10]

7 Participation and the functional equivalent of knowledge-based policy consultation

Particularly in the field of educational policies, knowledge-based policy consultation and the participation of those involved can be considered as functional equivalents with respect to the individual functions listed above. This is because knowledge-based consultation on decisions concerning

educational policies performs similarly ambivalent functions to participation. On the one hand it serves to broaden the account taken of values and interests in decision-making processes. This applies in particular insofar as expertise champions non-organised interests (e.g.: equality of opportunity). Through it, the quality of decision-making is also improved as a consequence of increased rationality of decisions. On the other hand, expert advice on educational policies has largely been directed, in recent years in particular, towards a legitimation function. Approval by those concerned in political decisions has been obtained by reference to the scientific 'dignity' of certain measures.

In recent years scientific consultation and legitimation have been considered inadequate both by school administrations and, in particular, by those who are themselves concerned. This applies particularly to the process of curricular reform, which was originally based totally on legitimation by educational research. Nowadays more and more attention is given to the legitimation of decisions by teacher participation and by participation by a broad section of the public in the development and trial of curricular concepts. Further causes for this shift are to be seen in the partial failure of expert consultation in educational policies.

8 The Importance of Participation in Curriculum Revision

The importance of participation varies in different political areas. In general it can be said that participation in cases of political planning, where the task is to enforce technical regulations, will hardly be important. On the other hand involvement of those concerned is necessary in those fields of planning in which the following criteria apply:

(1) Whenever questions are to be decided which are not only empirically problematical but also normatively controversial, wider participation enables greater account to be taken of relevant values and interests. However, decisions related to curricula are to a great extent normatively controversial ones.

(2) Whenever implementation of planning decisions can only be guaranteed by approval on the part of those concerned, i.e. not simply by decree, participation offers advance warning of possible resistance. Moreover, identification with the decisions made by those who have to implement them will be increased by involvement. To a great extent implementation of curricular reforms requires the approval of the teacher if any real change in the life of the classroom is to be brought about.

(3) Whenever necessary information for detailed planning cannot be gained by central analysis, the technical rationality of the measures adopted can also be improved by participation of those concerned. In view of the limited coverage of curriculum research, the necessary competence as regards subjects and practical classroom experience is only to be gained by broad-based participation of the teachers concerned.

These criteria alone make it clear that not only because of normative demands but for purely political reasons of function, curricular planning depends on participation.

9 Teacher Participation in Teachers' Further Education Schemes as a Functional Equivalent of an Educational Experiment

The decision to establish the 13 planned Middle Grade Centres in Berlin as integrated all-day Gesamt schools was bounded by certain reservations

of which two are particularly important in this connection:

(1) Beyond the planned organisation of the Middle Grade Centres, differentiated planning should exist for the 7th Grade and skeleton drafts for Grades 8 to 10.

(2) Teacher preparation which had been directed at participation in curricular decisions should in the opinion of the participants have been successful.

In the first Berlin school experiments one of the decisive features of political implementability was the idea of an experimental programme which, in the event of repudiation of important hypotheses, could be reversed. This idea, even though it had proved extremely valuable in the first phase, turned out to be an unnecessary encumbrance, from a political point of view, for the further development of Gesamt schools in Berlin. Thus, when the step towards regular school operation was taken, the idea of trials for schools had to be dropped. This step was consistent in its political rationality: allowing, on the one hand, the retention of an exonerating argument; the possibility of reversing policies while on the other hand not being bound to school experiments. It likewise represented a consistent step in maintaining the idea of the non-finality of the decision in favour of Gesamt schools by ensuring that procedures for putting centres into operation were linked to certain conditions. These conditions, which were admittedly not yet fulfilled by the equipment of the schools themselves, but which from the point of view of their fulfilment and their being seen to have been fulfilled, could be relatively easily influenced by measures taken by the school administrators. The advantage of this approach lay in the non-exclusion of alternatives which, since they were only temporarily postponed, could become the subject of debate again at any time. By this means, tolerance of, or support for, certain aspects seems to have been achieved, and freedom of action extended. The implementation clauses strengthened the demarcation line between the administrative and, in the narrower sense, the political aspects of the system by preventing direct intervention of vested intersts in the decision-making process as a consequence of temporary postponement.

10 Problems encountered in the Development of the Official Skeleton Guidelines

(1) Importance of Official Guidelines

As long as Berlin Gesamt schools were still in an experimental or quasi-experimental stage, they possessed a large amount of freedom of action for variation in the way in which they were modelled. This special status is however inconsistent with the status of a regular school in the Federal Republic of Germany and cannot be politically legitimised within the public sector. Thus increasing importance was attached to 'horizontalised' revision of the curriculum to produce school grade-orientated skeleton plans which would make the educational programme as public and as clear as those in traditional school types. On the one hand, the new skeleton plans were intended to demonstrate to various interested sections of the public the 'modernity' and 'non-dubiousness' of integrated learning processes in Middle Grade Centres. On the other hand, they offered a barrier behind which cautious, step-by-step integration of Lower Secondary Schooling could proceed. With respect to internal aspects of the schools, guidelines, in the form of skeleton plans or their preliminary drafts, constituted a precondition for a perspective of development at the

fundamental level. In this connection the relationship of existing Gesamt schools to Middle Grade Centres and traditional school forms had to be clarified. And finally, with respect to teacher preparation, skeleton guidelines were needed to lay down the latitude permitted with respect to participation as a consequence of the concrete definition and explanation of general aims. They were also required to demonstrate the possibilities open to the participants.

(2) The Political Functions of the Moderators

The job of the moderators was to draw up a comprehensive curriculum for Lower Secondary education, prepare the teacher training scheme from the point of view of materials, and conduct the scheme itself. This implied a dual political duty:

(1) towards the school administrators and politicians, insofar as such moderators had to anticipate possible political repercussions resulting from all curricular selection decisions,

(2) towards the recipients of administrative decisions, since moderators, acting as organisers of further education sessions, shared the responsibility both for the implementation procedure and - in view of the specific features of curricular development processes - for the attitude of those towards whom measures were directed. Preliminary decisions at the management level which would have concretely defined the task were either lacking completely or were only made shortly before commencement of the training schemes. Consequently, they failed to take effect. The decision to forego political guidelines and a latent conflict within the school administration sector - in which the participation ideas of the 'Curriculum' unit were confronted with a rather more cautious dissemination approach on the part of the 'school supervision' authority - resulted in a situation of extremely ambivalent openness for the planning moderators. On the one hand, freedom of action was inherent to the situation. On the other hand, the danger of restriction and of political failure was not absent. This ambivalence expressed itself in practice in terms of vague guidelines, particularly in those areas which were most ideologically controversial.

(3) The Curriculum Concept

In view of this complex background, exoneration from reproach could best have been achieved by a clear curriculum concept which gave equal consideration to curriculum theory and to practical innovation. However, shortcomings were encountered here. In compiling guidelines for the teacher preparation schemes for Middle School Centres, considerations were based on the fact that in Berlin there exist for the majority of subjects relatively new skeleton plans centred around school types. In some subjects these have begun to be horizontalised. In general they are intended as orientation frameworks for drafting a skeleton curriculum centred around school grades. The moderators were entrusted with the job of compiling a curriculum based on the skeleton plans arising from instruction units in Berlin Gesamt schools. This raised the question as to the extent to which guidelines could at all be compiled by systematic organisation of heterogeneous development work. Was this possible? Alternatively, to what extent were uniform conceptual drafts a priority to be decided in advance. This 'pragmatic approach' was probably due primarily to major deficits in knowledge of the theory and practice of curriculum construction. Following the disenchantment which set in after the non-fulfilment of promises given by curriculum research, there was uncertainty as to the contributions which

could be made to curriculum development by the school, administration and research and development agencies:

(1) There was lack of clarity as to which selection criteria should be used for basing curricular decisions related to the skeleton planning.

(2) There was hardly any relationship between questions of teaching organisation and evaluation on the one hand and curriculum development on the other.

(3) Considerable vagueness existed concerning the nature of curriculum development and the extent to which this should be binding; in most of the observed sessions, the extent to which the planned curriculum was based on existing skeleton plans, the degree to which its details were laid down in advance, the extent to which it should be considered authoritative, was not clear during the whole course.

(4) Inconsistencies in the Initial Situation

In one subject, precise skeleton guidelines and the conscious political mediatory action of the moderator were probably important reasons for the success of the session. In other subjects, however, preparation courses were plagued with inconsistencies. Above all the following can be sketched as inconsistencies having varying repercussions on individual subjects:

(1) The declared intention of developing an explicit educational programme was inconsistent with the lack of clarity concerning the direction which the content of curriculum revision was to take. It was also inconsistent with the uncertainty experienced in connection with the envisaged degree of detail of skeleton plans and their level of authoritiveness. This applied in particular to the relationship of skeleton guidelines on the one hand and teaching units developed by teachers on the other.

(2) The intention to standardise the curricula of new standard schools was inconsistent with the indefinite character of the content of basic papers and was also inconsistent with resort to obsolete skeleton plans. This led to uncertainty with respect to interpretation.

(3) Administration dissension internal to the Administration sector existed as regards the aims of preparation courses. This wavering between a strategy of dissemination on the one hand and participation on the other resulted in uncertainty on the part of moderators and participants as to their freedom of action.

(4) The structurally-dependent weak position of the moderator, as an assistant in an innovation schema, hardly corresponded to the political tasks required of him. It placed high demands on the loyalty of moderators.

Because of these opposing forces in the conflict, general uncertainty arose within further education courses as regards the target and functions of the whole scheme. The given initial situation resulted in general uncertainty with respect to possible teacher participation. Wherever there was uncertainty as to which definite decisions should be made by teachers themselves, and which decisions had already been laid down by the Schools Administration, as well as which decisions would undoubtedly have to be taken in the future at a political level, there arose a clear ambivalence compared with the demand for active construction of a model. Participants' assessment of the situation fluctuated abruptly between an unrealistic over-

estimation of their own power of bringing about change and a complete resignation before an anonymous bureaucracy.

11 The 'Administration Syndrome' amongst Participants

At the beginning of the further education scheme, teachers' expectations as regards cooperation, curriculum development and pedagogic preparation were bound to be vague. Motives for taking part could only take concrete shape in and out of an actual participatory situation. Similar factors applied for the administration. The general desire of this body for support which resulted in the idea of participation was only able to assume the character of a strategy after unambiguous definition and consideration of the situation parameters. The fact that decisive defining factors for the training situation remained obscure resulted in certain consequences both for the planners and for those concerned in the scheme.

(1) The scheme was unable to assume an unambiguous planning character because there was no clarity about the curriculum to be developed. Therefore there was no clarity about the levels of possible participation: the question arose as to whether efforts should be directed towards administrative skeleton planning or towards detailed decisions.

(2) Administrative decision-making processes were not clear to those attending either in their structural or procedural character. The ambivalent attitude of certain course organisers against the background of a 'united front' gave a picture of ineffectiveness, irrationality, or political reaction.

(3) Finally the degree of autonomy of those concerned remained undefined so that a diffuse offer of participation was offset against the maintained fiction of total administrative responsibility.[11]

These given conditions led to a situation where a strategy on the part of the Schools Administration only became clear in its vague rudiments. From the point of view of the teaching staff there was uncertainty as regards the latitude permitted to it. Here the inconsistency between a diffuse offer of participation and the fact that the final overall responsibility was to be borne by the school supervisory authority turned out to be significant. The strategic uncertainty of the administration and the day-to-day ambivalence experienced by participants, together with general 'antibureaucratic irritability' led to an all-embracing 'administration syndrome' with both cognitive and emotional components. A lack of acquaintanceship with the structural relationships existing in such a system as 'Education' and an underestimation of the complexity of planning procedures, as well as associated decision-making problems, reinforced what amounted to a generally negative view of administration in which bureaucracy appeared under the aspects of 'possessing no conception' and 'being representative of political reaction'. In this light, Schools Administration appeared to teachers as unclear and amorphous. Its intervention was anticipated constantly. On the other hand, it was considered to be fundamentally incapable of planning. As a result, action on the part of the administration was considered to be a threat and a restraint and administrative delays were interpreted as ineptitude and weakness. This 'administration syndrome' produced a situation of paralysis. This arose because the backwardness and lack of conception - in the opinion of teachers - confirmed the need for teachers to act in order to achieve progress in reforms. On the other hand, political and organisational restrictions of the Schools Administration sector furnished proof of the

very futility of such action. In view of this dilemma, the administration was used as an exonerating excuse and was accorded the function of scapegoat.

Offers of participation, made to compensate for a legitimation deficit on the part of the political administrative system, and intended to function as a mechanism of mediation between system levels, while at the same time claiming to offer democratisation, are very liable to be considered by those concerned as a strategy of pacification rather than an opening for democratisation. If mediatory support on the part of the course organisers is not forthcoming, the ambivalence of the situation may be lost, i.e. of a situation in which both possiblities - under certain circumstances associated with conflict - are inherent. This discrepancy appears to act in a paralysing manner whenever the normative demand for democratisation, submitted to the administrators as a moral demand for sincerity of motive, encounters a functional concept of participation.[12] As a result of this the loss in trust is intensified and the 'administration syndrome' is strengthened. The ambivalence felt by participating teachers may turn to resignation without actual freedom of action having been tested.

12 Problems of Mediation between Administration and Teachers

Before the background of the described problems of attitude and behaviour of participants, the question of the manner in which the course organiser sees his role becomes important. In conducting the teacher training scheme for Middle Grade Centres, moderators, considered from an administrative point of view, were entrusted with tasks of establishing legitimation and consensus. Because of the initial situation and its openness these tasks were complex. They placed considerable demands of loyalty towards the Schools Administration authority. Since this side mainly involved mediation processes with varying degrees of political character it was just as important for mediators to maintain equal loyalty towards the body of participants. This dual responsibility characterised the role of the moderator in the further education phase and was the cause of its problematical nature.

One important reason for the dilemma with which moderators were confronted is to be seen in the difficulty of coping with the conflict of roles. Moderators are, on the one hand, advisers to development groups. On the other hand, they are entrusted with the work of central coordination and control of curriculum development. These two roles are difficult to reconcile because advisers are expected to provide political support for curricular decentralisation and protection and help in the development of grass-roots initiative. However, central coordination is aimed specifically at standardisation, and thus at a certain restriction in latitude. Success was most readily achieved in finding a compromise in this situation of conflict when the moderator himself was involved in curriculum development and thus proved to be a direct partner. A further conflict existed between his role as a teacher and his role as a planning administrative official. In view of the divergence in expectations as to his behaviour a moderator was liable to be confronted with the laternative either of having to act as an advocate of the autonomy of Gesamt schools or of being considered as an agent for 'marketing administrative planning'. This conflict was entwined with further problems internal to the administration. As curriculum planners and as members cooperating in innovation work, moderators were exposed to great pressure to justify their activities to the supervising authorities. They therefore had to hold back politically to some extent.

At the same time during the further education phase they were considered as 'representing the firm' which had to put up a united front towards the outside. This concealed conflict increased already-existing loyalty problems. It was therefore not surprising that course organisers found it difficult to accept their administrative role at all and attempted to evade the conflict of roles by practising solidarity with varying degrees of intensity with the grass roots, an approach which they in turn were not able to maintain in all cases so that friction also arose with the body of teachers.

13 Functions of Participatory Training Schemes

Thus far an attempt has been made to show the fundamental conflict in the work situation of the teachers: a diffuse offer of participation was offset by the persisting total responsibility of the schools administration authority. Because guidelines were largely lacking the permitted room for action was not structured. This produced consequences for the development activities of moderators, for the teachers' work, and for the relationship between the administration and the teachers.

A further important complex of problems, involving the relationship between the complexity of the curricular subjects and the preference and competence of teachers, was not discussed. Treatment of this subject is however a precondition for assessing the functions of further education schemes. Nevertheless these factors cannot be included in this context. The following attempt to compile a resume is therefore necessarily somewhat summary in certain respects:

(1) The series of sessions represented a method of preparing teachers for their new work at integrated all-day schools. All in all, they probably established identification on the part of the participants with the Berlin Gesamt school programme. The development of Gesamt schools, to become regular schools, was paradoxically seen as quite independent of the schools administration authorities responsible for planning. In general, in the view of teachers, these appeared as amorphous and unclear, and represented the true inhibiting factor to educational reform.

(2) It can be expected that, due to standardised school organisation, to school grade-orientated skeleton guidelines and to the spread of instruction units, the Middle Grade Centre will become a prototype for future Lower Secondary Schools. Standardisation was at least embarked upon in training courses in which skeleton guidelines and/or classroom tested instruction units were available.

(3) Within the participatory teachers' training scheme a novel method of control was used, which, in comparison with skeleton plans, could well be potentially more effective and less prone to conflict compared with direct official intervention by decree or by similar measures. By means of this teacher training scheme, success was achieved in reliably breaking down the isolation of an experimental scheme by the establishment of the moderators' department in combination with expansion of the infra-structure. Moreover, it prepared for systematic cooperation at the point where regular schools were instituted.

(4) Independent of whether teachers made use of the participatory latitude give to them (which on occasions was substantial), or whether cooperation failed because of the complexity and ambivalence of the planning situation, the participants can probably now clearly see the possibilities of

of collective self-determination at their place of work.

(5) At the same time preparation sessions can be seen as a step towards professionalisation of teachers, even though no fixed professional standards and norms have crystallized. The organisational and curricular development of these new schools was however clearly seen as the task of teachers.

(6) In spite of favourable organisational, financial, and time-related peripheral conditions, virtually no relevant examples of classroom orientated curricula were developed in the training courses. Possibilities of participation were not utilised productively. This is probably due, on the one hand, to the conflict between total administrative responsibility and ambiguously defined freedom of action, and, on the other hand, to a discrepancy between curricular complexity and the available competence. Sessions tended rather to serve dissemination processes without the curricular units presented either being decisively revised or further developed. There was neither adaptation to organisational conditions of the Middle Grade Centres, nor revision of the substance, nor consideration of neglected criteria of relevance or value.

Notes and References

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2 This study was based on a parallel investigation staged by a Project Group of the Max-Planck-Institut für Bildungsforschung in Berlin during the first run-through of the programme from April to July, 1973. The investigation grouped selected curricular further education sessions into 4 subjects (Work Studies, German, Social Studies and Mathematics), as well as all sessions with overlapping subjects. Members of the Project Group were: J. Baumert, D. Hopf, J. Naumann, J. Raschert, H. Thomas. The following were also involved in the empirical phase: G. Meischner, W. Stegelmann.

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12 PARENT PARTICIPATION IN DUTCH PRIMARY EDUCATION

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1 Introduction

In this paper a summary will be given of some aspects of parent participation in relation to primary education in the Netherlands. The first section will deal with the historical relationship between parents and school. Then we will discuss some factors which explain the increasing interest in this relationship. As there seem to be a number of misapprehensions concerning the term 'parent participation', this term will be given a closer examination. We will also explain the main motives by which we try to increase parent participation in schools. In view of our investigations some research-data will be mentioned which may give a better understanding of certain terms which have to be complied with in order to start the process of parent participation.

Finally, the effects of parent participation will be discussed. These may affect all concerned: pupils, teachers, parents, and the authorities. Their consequences are significant for the teaching-learning process, school-administration, the relation between school and community, and educational policy in general.

2 Historical background to the parent-school relationship

Whenever one discusses Dutch education with foreigners one is forced to point out its peculiar legal-administrative-organisational aspects. The denominational segregation of Dutch education in two fields - state and denominational education - has a very obvious historical-political social background. This segregation does not only affect education but is also felt in many other areas of Dutch social life, such as press, radio, TV, and corporate life. It is a very important phenomenon with regard to the parents-school relationship, since one of the most significant emancipation movements of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was the so-called School War. This School War was fought (on paper) for freedom and financial equalisation of education, and it proved to be highly significant especially for denominational education. Many Catholic and Protestant parents have fought - often with great financial sacrifices - to obtain and maintain equal rights for denominational education. With its slogan: 'Education to the Parents' this emancipation movement has made a great number of parents feel closely involved in education.

After the settlement in 1920 - freedom and financial equality being legally settled - the involvement of parents gradually decreased. Apart from a few alterations and additions the 'Act of 1920', which was passed after scores of years of mainly political struggling, is still valid today.

In the 1920 Act on Primary Education, certain regulations were added to secure contact between parents and school in State education. One of these regulations says that every institution of state education should have a parents' committee, in which parents and teachers should be represented. It is supposed to be mainly an advisory body which serves the school's interests. The legal authority lies with the government.

As far as denominational education is concerned the institutionalized contacts between school and parents have been arranged in quite a different manner. Here legal authority lies with the parents' unions or the school

boards. Although one might expect that in this type of education parents felt more involved - after all, they have a great responsibility towards maintaining their schools - this is not the case. A nation-wide investigation into the matter, held in 1971, showed that parents turn out to be rather indifferent as to whether their children receive state or denominational education.[1]

3 Increased interest in parent-school relations

It is not within the scope of this paper to deal more closely with the institutional contacts between parents and school.[2]

During the period from 1920 to 1960 the parent-school relationship was largely determined by the way parents were represented in parents' committees and school boards. There has, however, always been a certain interest on the part of the parents in the kind of education their children received. This interest is primarily aimed at results. In general parents feel - to a certain extent - interested in the progress their children make at school. This progress is shown in marks, grades, reports, exams, etc. Usually it is these results only that parents rely on. However, for the last few years there has been a tendency for parents to feel more and more interested in education in general and their children's education in particular. This form of interest is a very recent one, and it shows itself in a greater active involvement. It is not coincidental that towards the middle of the 1960's parents' interest in education was increasing. Some relevant factors will be mentioned below.

During the last ten years our society has been characterized by a strong tendency towards, and desire for, greater openness. In many areas of our society we notice the democracy of management and decision-making, increasing co-partnership and participation, diminished structures of authority, the creation of democratic working circumstances, and an atmosphere of consultation and negotiation.

This development shows particularly in a number of political parties, trade unions, the health service, and the welfare services. Education has not been left untouched. The most obvious examples are to be found in university education and higher vocational education.

Both parents and teachers realize that education is an area of our society in which all concerned need to participate. This applies not only to tertiary education, but also to primary and secondary education. It is very striking in this context that many parents and teachers, who are already actively taking part in radical movements, political parties, women's organizations and student unions, turn out to be stimulators of educational participation.

Parents' interest in education has been strongly influenced by the changing position that nursery school and primary school education occupy in the entire educational system. The primary school has changed its role from that of a centre for final education - which it used to be for many pupils - into that of the first of a number of compulsory stages of education for all children. Its function has clearly altered. Dutch plans to integrate nursery schools and primary schools have existed for several years, but have only recently had a chance of being realized.

At the level of curriculum and organization rapid changes are also taking place. In certain schools pupils are automatically promoted at the end of term (whereas in most schools of the traditional system pupils could be

forced to stay in a certain form for another year if their results were not satisfactory), and new forms of organization are developing. Moreover, new educational requirements have been added to the curr[illegible]um, e.g. one foreign language, modern maths or social science. In some schools radical changes in the existing educational structure have begun to take place.

All this does not leave the parents untouched. These changes can only hope to be successful if parents and teachers cooperate in them.

A third factor is the attention that is being paid within the social sciences to the social, cultural, economic and pedagogic environment in which parents and children are living. Investigations into the relationship between education and environment started in England and the U.S. before the second World War. The part that parents play in education, at home and at school, was discussed a long time ago. In the Netherlands the interest in the parents-school relationship has also been caused by environmental problems. The development of programmes for compensation and activation has played an important part here. In a rather early stage it was realized that there was little or no point in activating pupils from socially lower classes if one did not intend to activate the family itself in its environmental circumstances, e.g. in housing, work, living conditions and the neighbourhood.[3]

The last factor, which affects the other three, is the part played by the media. In various ways and in many shades of subjectivity the press - especially radio and TV - have confronted the public with the fact that, and the ways in which, parents can become involved in their children's education and get into conflict with it. Some conflicts of this kind have led in Holland to questions in Parliament.

4 What is parent participation?

Since the beginning of the 1970's the parent-school relationship in Holland, when not restricted to institutionalized contacts, is usually referred to as parent participation.

Parent participation includes parents being actively involved in the education of their children ('actively' meaning actually acting). This active involvement can of course be realized in many different ways, within the family, in the neighbourhood, and at school. We will now mention a number of possibilities.[4]

(a) Activities supporting education

These activities take place at home and are meant to prepare and support the children's school career. All sorts of activities stimulating further development may be used to this purpose, like reading aloud from a book, telling stories, playing family-games and word-games, providing developmental toys, offering material for expression, answering questions about the 'how' and 'why' of things, taking the child out to interesting places like zoos, children's farms, playgrounds. Exhibitions of developmental toys and children's drawings may be organized. Activities supporting education may also take place in the neighbourhood, e.g. demonstrations for more teachers, for smaller classes.

(b) Rendering personal service and carriage

What is meant here is activities by parents at school which are not directly related to education itself, like cleaning, making coffee or tea, organizing parties, doing repairs around the school, assisting in the

supply of school milk, joining school trips, keeping an eye on children during their hot meals, organizing collections of waste paper for the benefit of the school.

(c) Activities for direct support of education

Parents can offer their help in stencilling and documentary-work, in organizing centres for documentation, looking after the school library, and manufacturing educational appliances.

(d) Taking part in the teacher's didactic activities

Parents can be helpful in planning and preparing education, they can assist in the actual process of teaching (reading in groups, giving individual help), they can give supplementary education (music lessons, needlework, handicraft) and assist in correcting the pupils' written work. It should be noted that the teacher remains the leading and co-ordinating figure in these activities.

(e) Joint decisions on the framework and organization of education

The most thorough and most important form of parent participation is that in which the parents join the decision-making about aims, contents and organization of education. They can discuss the curriculum and its aims with the teachers, so that 'new' items, like environmental problems, peace problems, and sexual instruction, may be dealt with. Parents and teachers may discuss whether they should take part in educational experiments. Together they can discuss the appointment of new teachers.

This list of activities, which is only a small choice from the numerous possibilities, may show that parent participation is certainly not limited, and may include a great number of activities.

5 Why parent participation?

Considerations to try to develop parent participation may be of a different nature. Very often there is more than one argument involved. In the Netherlands one may speak at the moment of a 'Parent Participation Movement', and it has gradually become a very popular phenomenon. In the beginning of 1975 a national Parent Week was held, which had parent participation as its central theme. The consequence of all this is that parent participation sometimes appears to be an aim in itself. We are then dealing with a popular phenomenon, in which 'parents in the school' is supposed to be the same as parent participation. The schools sometimes motivate this with remarks like 'we must see to it that we don't lag behind, there are parents in other schools, and we want that too'.

Another motivation for teachers to get parents into their schools is quite often found in the many tasks that have to be fulfilled. Parents' assistance is more than welcome in tackling these tasks. In that case parents are unpaid emergency staff who can relieve the work of the regular staff.

Parents too have a number of motives to be active inside the schools. Apart from the idea of doing positive things for their children, there are two other motives that may play an important part. A number of mothers, and fathers sometimes, have discovered the school as a place to spend their spare time in a useful way. In this way a recreative function is added to parent participation. Secondly, the atmosphere at school, which usually is one of cosiness and sociability, makes many parents feel at home there.

This social function may sometimes even replace the local public house, the baker's around the corner, the barber's shop, etc., where there is nowadays little time and room left for informal contacts. Some schools have gone so far in this direction that the parents' coffee-break has become one of the most important opportunities for informal social contact.

All the aforementioned motives for parent participation are aims in themselves: joining the rest, cheap emergency staff, recreation for parents and informal contacts, arise voluntarily and without obligations. At the organisational level there are some problems for the teachers. However, education itself hardly undergoes any alterations.

If parent participation is not regarded as an aim in itself, in the process of which teachers or parents are central figures, but as a means to reach an aim, then it is the child we must start from. In that case everything will run less smoothly, because then education itself will be matter for discussion. A political-social point of consideration is the fact that children from socially lower classes should have the same educational opportunities and possibilities as pupils from other classes.

School is of particular value to the middle class and the upper class. It is wrong to see school as something completely separated from certain parents. School has a function for children from all social levels.[4] From the point of social justice, parents from the lower classes have to be involved in education, too. It is in the interest of their children that they should have some influence on the aims, the contents, and the forms of school organization. By involving parents in their children's education one may get a better understanding of inequality of opportunities. This may lead to an increasing awareness by parents of educational affairs and may awaken their desire to give maximum opportunities to their children to develop within the educational framework.

A pedagogical consideration in favour of involving parents in education is the idea that education should relate school and community. The point is to reach agreement between the school and its social surroundings concerning the ideological aims which must be pursued, and the possibility of reaching a certain continuity of policy.

Directing school activities at the child's background at home creates the possibility of aiming education more directly at the child. Education aimed at the child is possible if the child's intelligence, judgment, abilities, capacities, interests and attitudes are taken into consideration. In many cases teachers do not have this information at their disposal. Very often parents can easily inform the teachers about their children's initial situation. Consequently there must be a social-cultural openness between school and the community which guarantees continuity in education between home and school.

Discussions in Holland about parent participation have hardly dealt with why parents should participate. It has been concerned mostly with how their participation could be realized in practice.[5] This has led to a certain vagueness in definition in which 'parent participation' is liable to be over-interpreted. Parents and teachers do not always agree in their interests and motivations, so that concretisation may easily lead to misunderstandings and doubts, which again may lead to conflicts.

The crucial point then is not disagreements between parents and teachers, but the different views on society which may affect both groups. Since

these views and the value orientations and points of departure which they imply are no longer hidden during the process of giving concrete form to parent participation, fundamental disagreements may well become evident.

6 Parent participation and educational research

Despite the fact that quite a lot is being written in the Netherlands about parent participation there has been hardly any advance in our understanding of the relationship between education at school and at home, and of the part that parents can or might play. This means that everybody concerned has to begin virtually afresh. There is no empirical research whatsoever. It is practically impossible to start a valid investigation if one cannot start the forming of theories as well. This is not only a problem in the Netherlands, since in foreign literature empirical studies on parent participation are also scarce.

In Holland a number of projects are going on in the field of compensation and activation programmes, according to which parents are involved in education, as part of the solving of problems related to the school and the social environment. We are dealing here with research projects which mostly aim directly at creating better chances for development for the lower classes, with financial help from state or municipal authorities and the aid of experts. In these externally initiated activities parent participation generally plays an inferior part. But neither compensation and activation programmes nor our experiences with externally initiated activities have been entirely successful.[6]

Primary education inspectors have carried out a nationwide investigation into the ways in which parents participate in executive and advisory bodies, or are involved in what happens in primary schools. Throughout the country 4% of the schools were tested at random by means of a questionnaire, filled in by headmasters. Surprisingly, 97% of the schools returned the forms. This investigation showed, amongst other things, that at one third of all primary schools in Holland, parents assist in teaching and that at 20% of the schools parents are involved in the appointment of teachers and the determination of the curriculum.[7] These results led to a change in the inspectorate's initially neutral attitude towards parent participation, and to the adoption of a positive approach to the matter.

The very first, and so far only, systematic investigation into parent participation in the Netherlands was in 1971. It was a case-study of the parent-school relationship at the Elberts School (Zwolle), performed by a research group at the Institute of Education in the State University of Groningen.

The immediate cause for this investigation was a TV-programme in which, for the very first time, a school was shown where parents were directly involved in their children's education. The authorities were particularly puzzled by the fact that parents actually assisted in teaching. After the programme a conflict arose between the school (teachers, pupils and parents) and the authorities. This conflict was discussed in detail by the press. The investigation at the school, which was situated in a working-class area, lasted from 1968 to 1971. All the people concerned - teachers, parents, pupils, authorities - were interviewed. Some questions that the research-group tried to get answers to were:

- what are the aims of the people concerned?
- what were the contextual conditions of the school and the neighbourhood

within which parents were able to participate in school activities?
- what strategies were followed in order to get parents involved in these activities?
- in what way did the parents contribute to the activities that the school organized for their children?
- was there any systematic strategy in the means that were used?
- in what way and to what extent were the aims of the people concerned realized?
- what was the influence of the parents when they started to participate in the school's activities?

This investigation was partly descriptive and partly exploratory. The investigation showed that parent participation had not been planned systematically. It started off as a spontaneous process which has gradually developed. During the first stage of the process of parent participation there was an agreement between teachers and the authorities about the aims. The bad relationship that existed originally between parents and school needed to be improved. The failure to state explicit aims of parent participation had led to disagreements between teachers and authorities. The latter regarded the contact with parents as a means of improving the quality of education, whereas the teachers wanted to increase the parents' interest in the education of their children. Also they emphasized good social relations. The teachers hope that by intensifying the contact with parents they might identify themselves more completely with their children's thoughts and emotions.

Parents' reasons for participating were mainly to support the headmaster (72%), or because they want to know what was happening to their children (49%). The investigation showed that parents did not participate in order to take an active part in the process of decision-making at the Elberts School as far as appointing teachers, buying school materials, etc. were concerned. Parents thought that the teachers knew best what was good for their children.

We will not go into the activities of parents at the Elberts School ranging from fetching and carrying up to assisting in the actual teaching. We are dealing here with a number of conditions which were shown in this study and which may allow generalization for comparable situations.

The study concluded with about twenty generalisations and hypotheses about parent participation in working-class areas.[9] A number of generalisations regarding teachers, the school, parents, and the neighbourhood have also been formulated. The most relevant are given below:

Conditions regarding teachers and the school:

(a) A consensus among teachers concerning the aims and strategies for involving parents in education is a condition for realizing parent participation. Reduction of the team of teachers will often be inevitable in order to reach this consensus.

(b) A condition for parent participation is that teachers should judge parents capable of assisting in teaching their children. This includes the willingness of teachers to regard their own expertness as relative.

(c) A condition for parent participation is that manual labourers realize that they can indeed play a useful part. Being well-informed about the language, the social-cultural way of life, the economic relations and the attitudes of manual labourers increases the understanding of

the possibilities of these people.

(d) Willingness to accept educational reform is a condition for parent participation. In this context the educational organisation and contents, social-psychological relations between teachers and pupils, and the language of the teachers are most important.

(e) The process of parent participation will be stimulated, if teachers are willing to act in sympathy with parents, e.g. in relation to imminent demolitions or reconstructions in the neighbourhood, failing social services, radical actions, and demonstrations organized in the neighbourhood, and in the actual solution of their problems.

(f) A school which, in a working-class area, has any chance of developing into a centre for the community will need - as a condition for its existence - a team of teachers who realize that a school is more than a centre of education, and who are actually willing to contribute to out-of-school activities.

Conditions regarding parents and the neighbourhood:

(a) A condition for stimulating the process of parent participation is a number of active, self-confident parents who are living in the area and who try to activate other parents in matters of school and neighbourhood.

(b) A condition for parent participation in a working-class area are factors which may improve the mutual contacts between parents, and the contact between parents and school. The geographical position of the school in an area, which is large enough and forms in itself a geographical unit, is very important, as well as the fact that the area concerned should be a community with a homogeneous professional and educational structure.

It will take a more detailed study to show whether the aforementioned conditions are equally important in starting and in the progress of parent participation. Despite the fact that in many schools parents are actively involved in their children's education, there are schools in which the process cannot get started satisfactorily. Parents and/or teachers are often very willing and they realize the necessity of closer co-operation between school and family. But this appears to be insufficient. The aforementioned conditions show that sheer willingness is not enough. Seeing the relativeness of things, enthusiasm, willingness to take action, solidarity, sympathy, a certain opinion on education and the overall situation, all determine - perhaps to an even greater extent - the start and progress of parent participation.

7 The effects of parent participation

Little or no study has been made of the consequences of greater educational involvement.[10] It is remarkable that very little is known about the consequences for pupils. In general pupils seem to like having parents who participate in the educational process around at school, together with the teachers. But it is very hard to prove empirically that parent participation does indeed lead to the greater possibilities for development which are often hypothesised. What has become a well-known fact is that parent participation may have consequences for the teachers, the individual school, the parents, and the authorities.

Let us go more deeply into these aspects.

Parent participation has a great influence on teachers and their conception and performance of tasks. This is particularly so when parents take part in education or in deciding about aims, contents and organization of education. As a rule parent participation does not mean - as is sometimes suggested - relief for the teachers in their tasks. One of the less positive sides to parent participation is that it takes time, sometimes very considerable time.

Reactions from teachers who have worked with parents show that their role as teachers has changed. They no longer plan, perform and evaluate by themselves. Instead, they do all three things in co-operation with others. The teacher is no longer 'king of the castle', with almost complete autonomy. He is no longer in a position to develop 'conceit of authority and self-conceit'."

Co-operation with parents certainly leads to mutual co-operation between teachers. Parent participation may even be a favourable starting-point to set up forms of co-operation between teachers (team-teaching). On the other hand, however, team-teaching may be a starting-point to set up parent participation. Involving parents in the school can only be useful if they are also given the opportunity to participate in activities that seem useful to them. Involving parents in the educational process is possible on condition that so-called 'frontal' education is abandoned. Parents can co-operate in a very useful way, in certain forms of 'setting', and when pupils are working individually or in small groups. It is not surprising, therefore, that in schools with certain forms of parent participation, the organisation of the curriculum becomes changed.

Parent participation may affect the organization of education as well as its contents. Parents will offer ideas and hints, which may stimulate teachers to discuss matters they might not have come forward with by themselves, e.g. projects and courses about war and peace, poverty in the world, racial discrimination, pollution, sexual instruction, and the neighbourhood lived in. Teachers in working-class areas are often confronted with social and economic problems of parents, e.g. social security money, radical actions for lower rents, problems involving renovation and demolition of houses, family and unemployment problems. Parents may tend, if there is a good mutual relationship, to ask the teachers for advice. This may result in teachers having many activities outside school, which do not directly relate to school matters. Time and energy for these activities often means a heavy strain for these teachers.

The effect of parent participation on the individual school is that the wide gulf, which often exists between parents and school, will become narrower. The school will be less isolated because of better and more frequent contact between parents and school, and because the aims and contents will be more and more in tune with education at home. If the influence of the community on the school becomes stronger, it may have its effects on the school's prestige. In the Netherlands we find a relative uniformity in primary schools in various parts of the country. The differences do not lie between state or denominational education, but rather between schools which function according to different educational conceptions, e.g. Jenaplan, Montessori, Dalton and the Free Schools. This uniformity in primary schools is being threatened by the increasing influence of the community on the schools. It is not surprising therefore that in certain instances differentiations arise, based on and caused by local situations. This may be beneficial to direct involvement and co-

operation between school and community. But it definitely has negative effects on pupils, concerning their possibilities of moving from one school to another.

Schools in the same neighbourhood or county often isolate themselves from each other if one (or more) of them decides to 'change its course'. It is a well-known fact that a school, in which parent participation has been realized, causes tensions among teachers and parents of nearby schools, which may lead to feelings of competition.

A greater involvement of parents in schools in working-class areas may turn the school into a community-centre for its neighbourhood. As a rule parents discover before too long that all sorts of activities may be organized in a school-building, provided that it remains open after the official closing hours. They feel more or less at home because they have been around during the day; the fact that it operates on a non-commercial basis, that one shares responsibilities and decisions concerning school policy, combined with its pleasant atmosphere, sometimes turn a school into the equivalent of other meeting places, e.g. public houses, or social centres. A school which serves as a community centre provides a place for meetings, parties and social gatherings, both for parents and for pupils. All sorts of non-school activities may be organized for pupils, e.g. gymnastics, arts and crafts, musical instruction and homework-training.[12]

For parents parent participation often results in a greater awareness of education at home and at school. They are directly involved in educational affairs, so that they can see what pupils actually do, what their problems and progress are. A greater understanding of matters concerning school often leads to a stronger awareness of what education means to the development of (their) children.

In schools where parent participation is being realized, this sometimes stimulates parents to take part - even at home - in activities supporting education. For certain parents from the lower classes their increasing involvement in school affairs has caused an awareness of their own intellectual deficiencies. Parents have asked teachers for refresher courses, like writing without mistakes, or learning a foreign language. In a number of Dutch schools, mostly in the older quarters of the bigger cities, so-called 'parent courses' have been started. Parents go to school in the evening and are taught by the same teachers who teach their children. Schools with children from different social levels, (so-called heterogeneous schools) have certain problems: time and time again it appears that parents from the middle classes and higher classes manage to play a dominating part. They often influence others with their purposes, values, norms, etc. If teachers originate from similar social strate they will support this tendency. Parents from the lower classes are often less eloquent, have got used to keeping their voice down, and usually have less spare time. Consequently certain groups of parents will be benefited (and hence become superior) again. They discuss the actual problems with the teachers whereas the 'socially inferior' parents are saddled with all sorts of odd jobs-around-the-house. Thus parent participation may work in the wrong direction.

This is clearly shown in the way parents are represented in parents' committees and school boards. Parents from the lower classes form a small minority in these circles. It is striking however, that parent participation seldom increases the significance and influence of parents'

committees and school boards. It is especially the informal mutual contacts between parents, and between parents and teachers that matter. In certain schools where parent participation is being realized the parents' committee is merely a formal body without any real function. Really important matters are being discussed in small sub-groups, which have been centred around certain activities or so-called class-groups.

Thus little is to be expected from legal regulations to increase the influence of parents' committees and school boards in order to stimulate the process of parent participation.

Greater involvement of parents in education has its influence on authorities and consequently on educational policy in general. Apart from a small number of investigators, parent participation in the Netherlands began at a grass roots level. Its rapid development caused the authorities to support and stimulate the movement. In addition to teachers and pupils, parents have gradually been discovered as a group. Parents, as one of the groups participating in the educational process, are more and more seriously involved, e.g. in school experiments like integration between nursery schools and primary schools, the middle school (for children between 12 and 16 years old), but also in joint educational experiments. This movement has developed rather rapidly in the period between 1970-75. It is a development which will influence the legal authorities, the school-inspector and their roles and functions.

The role of the inspector is changed by the increasing involvement of parents in the schools. Teachers are traditionally responsible to their superiors, i.e. the inspector of schools. This responsibility changes because of the parents' dealings with education. Teachers are now not only responsible to their superiors, but also to the parents (their 'inferiors'). Consequently the inspector must be more of a helpful guide, an adviser, than a controller. Since parents have become active in the schools, and since the school is no longer exclusively concerned with school matters, the position of the school inspector, which originally was directed primarily at teachers and school matters, has become uncertain.

A second point concerns the legal-administrative organization. The Dutch school system is characterized by its rather centralized organization and its uniformity. Participation from the grass-roots leads to a greater influence from the people who are working in particular communities and who sometimes disagree with centralist measures taken by the policy-makers.

Parent participation means a greater differentiation and more independence for the schools concerned. For school policy it means that, more than before, a certain autonomy of individual schools has to be reckoned with, and that legal-administrative centralizm may affect participation in a negative way.

Notes

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2 See: J. Rupp, 'Elternhaus und Schule in den Niederlanden'. in K. Schleicher (ed.), Elternhaus und Schule, Schwann, Dusseldorf, 1971.

3 Speaking about the 'lower classes' we mean parents on a low educational and financial level, who live under poor living and working circumstances.

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III SCHOOL AND WORK

13 SCHOOL AND WORK

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Polarisation of concepts tends to be a self-reinforcing process. In a great deal of educational debate, concepts such as 'vocational' and 'non-vocational' are set at opposite poles, and attract to themselves other concepts, like iron filings to the poles of a magnet; and in the course of discussion it is easy to confuse the relatedness of the concepts with identity. Thus, 'vocational' becomes associated with 'technical', 'applied', 'manual', and a cluster of assumptions about social class and status, while 'non-vocational' attracts terms like 'general', 'liberal', 'academic', and a different set of status and class associations. The concepts are rarely defined, but their polarisation is often allowed to affect thinking on a wide range of educational issues.

In Britain, for example, the vocational/non-vocational distinction is still widely used to characterise the difference between the universities and institutions on the other side of the 'binary system'. This is difficult to sustain seriously in view of the large numbers of polytechnical students taking general courses in the social sciences, or the dominance within the universities of traditional vocational faculties such as medicine, business studies and so forth. In divided secondary school systems, the same thinking operates at least in the background, often reflected in the names used. Admittedly, the development of the lycée technique in France or, more recently, the fachgebundenes Abitur in the Federal Republic of Germany have blurred the distinction, but it is not all that long since the Lycée and the Gymnasium were seen as occupying different worlds from the Berufsschule or even the collége d'enseignement technique. Even now, in Ireland, secondary school and vocational school denote parallel and quite separate types of post-primary institution.

Even unified or comprehensive systems can retain this division internally. Many American High Schools resolve the variety of their course offerings into fairly distinct 'tracks' with such titles as 'college preparatory', 'business and administration' and 'technical and practical', the second and third being seen as vocational or at least 'job-oriented'. If I may intrude a personal note, the internal organisation of the secondary school where I last taught (and there were a great many run on the same pattern both in Glasgow and in Scotland generally) may reveal something of the same. At that time, children were streamed from the point of entry (even when entering comprehensive schools); those not thought likely to take external examinations - the average and below average in ability - were put in classes labelled IT1 ID1, IT2, ID2. The first figure was merely the year or term number. T stood for Technical (boys), D for Domestic (girls), and the final figure indicated the ability level within these categories. There were C classes (Commercial, girls only), but these were not formed until the second year, usually by creaming off the abler D1 girls and joining them with a few brought down from the academic stream. Thus far, the rationale was vocational. (There were also some interesting assumptions about sex roles, a theme which Professor Sutherland develops in her paper.) As for those pupils taking courses leading to certificate work, the labelling was by sex (as it was thought administratively convenient to have separate boys' and girls' classes) and ability level - hence IB1, IG1, IB2, IG2;

second-year mixing produced 3BG1, 3BG2, and so on. Early streaming is now relatively rare, but the assumption, brought out so starkly in a labelling system that almost suggests that some children were not quite human, is still common enough - namely, that able children are given a 'general' or 'academic' education, while the less able have one either directly vocational or at least biased towards work. It was understood by the pupils clearly enough no less than by the staff.[1]

Yet it is doubtful if the vocational/non-vocational opposition is real in any functional sense. Many of the American High School students guided into technical and practical courses have no particular job in mind, and receive little training for it if they have. In my former school, the T class boys spent a great deal of time on woodwork, metalwork and technical drawing, but very few had the slightest intention of being carpenters, metalworkers or draughtsmen. Some of the girls in the Commercial classes (they call it Business Studies now) did become typists, and most of the D girls did spend some of their adult lives having, feeding and bathing babies, cooking and perhaps even knitting and sewing; but then so did the G girls, who were taught rather little of their skills. On the other hand, many of the pupils in the 'non-vocational' classes had a clearer view of the link between studies and future jobs, choosing courses that would enable them to enter particular ranges of careers through the examination system. It could be argued that vocational rather than general educational criteria inform choice of academic courses; and the allegedly vocational studies of the more practical kind could be more easily justified on general educational grounds than on their relevance to the kind of work most of the school-leavers are likely to take up. There is a more direct connection between Latin and law or mathematics and accountancy than between woodwork and metalwork and labouring on a building site or tightening nuts on a conveyor belt.

A more realistic distinction might be that between preparation for work in the widest sense, preparation for a certain range of jobs (e.g. mechanical, commercial, professional), and training for a particular job (or a narrow range at most.) The first of these would appear to be present in most kinds of schooling, whether termed 'general' or not; and, especially if we allow for the educational system's accrediting as well as qualifying function, this could be held true of the second as well. The third is the most obviously vocational, and most commonly distinguished from the school's general function; but the intention of this paper is to argue that even this distinction has not always been a hard and fast one, that it can be adapted to general educational application anyway, and that the problem of whether, when and whom to train for specific work roles remains within the formal school system of most societies.

It is not my intention to attempt a historical survey, but a few historical landmarks might help to pinpoint the development of the problem, and possibly set our present situation in perspective. It is customary to trace the origin of the general/vocational dichotomy (as much else) to the Greeks, or more specifically to Athens of the 5th and 4th Centuries B.C. We are told that the 'useful arts' were regarded as unworthy of the attention of the educated man, an attitude given some rationale by Plato's drawing a firm line between general education culminating in philosophy for the ruling class and training in applied skills for the craftsmen and farmers. But although there is some support for this view in the Republic (rather than the Laws), it is not quite the same thing as the modern

dichotomy. The education Plato proposed for his guardian class was vocational in a sense, preparation for the job of ruling; his argument was that this was the highest craft, requiring philosophical insight, and he had his own ideas of how to attain this. Crafts like pottery and smithing he regarded as more limited, requiring skill rather than wisdom. Much of his thinking can of course be regarded as a rationalisation of the prejudices of an aristocrat living in a slave society. But it can also be seen as opposition to exclusive preoccupation with any kind of skill which took so much time to acquire that it left little for the cultivation of the whole individual; and this would apply to the specialisation needed for virtuosity in the arts, or athletics, or scholarship, no less to the mechanical trades. Aristotle's dismissal of the skilled trades as 'unworthy' is in the same tradition, but so is his recommendation that a gentleman should be able to play the flute, 'but not too well'. Class prejudice is there, but so is the value summed up in the slogan meden agan - nothing too much. Plato and Aristotle did think that training for pottery or weaving was demeaning by its limiting nature; but they would have been just as censorious of the education that produced Browning's grammarian.[2]

If we are looking for an ancient starting-point for the polarity in education, it might be more profitable to look to the Hellenistic kingdom that arose from the break-up of Alexander's empire. The schooling of classical Athens was that of the soldier and citizen (Plato's scheme being a development of it), but the successor kingdoms, with mercenary armies and royal monopoly of political decision-making, left little scope for this. Accordingly, in Ptolemaic Egypt and Seleucid Syria, we find the gap widening between the education of the artisan, the scholar, and the cultivated gentleman of leisure; public affairs being out of reach of all of them, the emphasis shifted to private matters. The thinking behind this division overcame in turn the educational tradition of republican Rome, and was to reappear much later in Renaissance Europe.

It is necessary to make this point, since during the Middle Ages, which saw many of our present institutional structures taking shape, there was little sign of the division. There were plenty of others, to be sure, but they related to different kinds of work education (based on social class) rather than its presence or absence. Knightly education was essentially military training, the preparation of an elite for the highly specialised job of cavalry warfare; even heraldry can be seen in this context as quite as practical a matter as aircraft recognition during World War II. It was transmitted through the institution of 'nourishing' (a kind of apprenticeship) and progression through the grades of page, squire and knight. Literacy and formal schooling, though sometimes present, were not really an essential part. For the peasantry, agricultural skills passed from father to son; and in the towns, the growing class of craftsmen and merchants also passed on work skills from master to apprentice, devising when needed the institutions of the gilds for mutual insurance and protection of the secrets of the 'mystery'. Finally, the clergy filled the civil service as well as the strictly religious role; in either case, they needed to pass on the knowledge and skills needed for the various occupations involved, such as literacy or Latin. The institutions that developed drew upon available models; the universities, for instance, borrowed from Church organisation and even more from the gilds and corporations (universitates), and filled an essentially vocational function, the training of lawyers, doctors, theologians, teachers. The 'general' faculties of arts were simply an introductory stage for the acquisition of the skills needed to progress

further.[3]

In all of these cases, the process was the transmission of a fixed body of knowledge, skills and values from one generation to the next, either by father to son or through some kind of substitute relationship. Only the last-mentioned type was essentially literate, though elements of this kind of study spread to the education of the other classes to some extent, particularly the knightly and burgher classes. (This may be related to a growing complexity of needs, such as the keeping of better accounts, more accurate measurement of ingredients by metal-worker or apothecary, of communication with confrères elsewhere as trading patterns grew more involved.) Some of the skills came to be less directly related to the job in hand as the base of necessary skills widened (the Faculties of Arts provide a model here); and there were some cases of well-to-do young men undergoing some kind of formal education for social polish rather than as training for a job they actually planned to practise. (An ancient example of this is the transformation of the Athenian ephebate from practical military training into a finishing-school for visiting foreigners; a modern one can be found in the law faculties of Bolivian universities.) Essentially, however, the various forms of mediaeval education were vocational in that they prepared the younger generation for some kind of work, and usually fairly specifically at that.

The present opposition of general and vocational education, and the confusion that goes with it, is sometimes traced to the Industrial Revolution. This did make a contribution, but there is much to be said for looking at the related movements of the Renaissance and the Reformation. The Renaissance, first of all, was a minority movement, affecting mainly the rich and leisured. Whatever those involved in it themselves believed, it was not a rediscovery of classical art and learning, but something new. The richness of the artistic and intellectual growth of the time is not in dispute, but it was not classical. There is a world of difference between the public architecture of Periclean Athens and the private building of the Italian Renaissance which it inspired; or between the drama of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides and the revivalist attempts that gave rise to the opera. There is a world of difference, too, between the Latin of the mediaeval universities and monasteries and that revived by the Renaissance humanists. Mediaeval Latin was an instrument of communication, as practical a study as computers or economics today; but the Ciceronian Latin resurrected by the Renaissance became the plaything of cultured gentlemen, and easily developed into a mechanism for distancing the learned elite from the rest.[4] (By the same token, of course, it was functionally different from Latin as used in Classical Rome.) Academic study, in the middle ages, was a practical preparation for a job. During the Renaissance, and after, it became the pursuit of those who had (and needed) no job.

The related phenomenon of the Reformation also served to break down the essentially vocational orientation of mediaeval education. Even literacy had been a special vocational skill; but this, and by extension a wide range of 'academic' pursuits, came to be regarded as of value to society at large. Once it is assumed that understanding of the scriptures is essential for the salvation of each individual soul, the argument for general literacy is compelling; and from there it is no small step to regarding a much wider range of academic study as having a general rather than particular relevance. Most of the reformers of central and northern Europe found themselves advocating mass education. In Scotland, Knox was

calling in 1560 for a system whereby 'everie severall parrische have a scholmaister appointed, such a one as is able, at least, to teache Grammer and the Latin tongue'; and after insisting that there must be suitable provision for the support of poor children 'to be sustenit at letteris', goes on to insist on compulsory schooling for all classes on largely moral grounds, 'sa that the Commounwealthe may have some comfort by them.'[5] Luther expressed himself in similar terms. That the ambitious schemes were rarely implemented in the short term is not immediately relevant, nor are the longer-term implications for popular education in northern Europe and America. What is of some significance here is that the Reformation helped to transform what had been a largely vocational interest into a general one. In their different ways, the Renaissance and the Reformation de-vocationalised academic study - one by stressing the cultivation of a few individuals, the other by spreading it to the community at large.

The 'alienation' effects of the Industrial Revolution, the reduction of the labour of individuals to small and mechanical parts of the whole productive process, is too familiar to require detailed treatment here. It may be instructive, however, to look at the reactions of some thinkers and the different directions in which their search for a solution took them. Marx regarded the development of the factory system in the 19th century as one which crippled the worker in body and mind by reducing him to the role of a cog in the machine, and Ruskin excoriated the system in similar terms:

> It is our civilisation which has degraded the artisan by making man not a machine but something even inferior, a part of one, and above all by the division of labour. He who passes his life in making pin's heads will never have a head worth anything more.[6]

Charlton, however, has pointed out an essential difference in their response:

> But if Ruskin's diagnosis coincided in this respect with that of Marx, his remedy looked in quite a different direction. His insistence that nothing good could come out of a machine led him back to the past of the craftsman and the guild. The workshops he recommended for schools were those of the carpenter and the potter, valuable in themselves, but inadequate to meet the needs of a modern society, whose industry was increasingly based on science and technology.[7]

Marx, by contrast, while deploring the situation, saw it as an opportunity for moving on to something else. We shall return to that later; meanwhile, it is worth observing that whatever the remedy, the increasing complexity of work skills of all sorts placed burdens on the training system which traditional apprenticeship was no longer able to meet.

The merging of vocational instruction and the long-generalised academic education was, and remains, no simple matter. The apparent separation of the two has bequeathed theoretical as well as practical problems, the most obvious being the question of specificity. At one extreme one might place the approach of Kerschensteiner's concept of Arbeitsschulen, monotechnical rather than polytechnical. This approach, as Charlton has pointed out:

> ...utilised the traditions of the craft guilds, whose influence has lingered for a much longer period in Germany than in any other European country. The efficiency with which Kerschensteiner's ideas were put into practice is undoubted, and has resulted in a highly complex system of technical education through the secondary

levels up to the technische Hochschulen, a system which has no rival in Western Europe. But it was and is a system running parallel to the Gymnasium, on which it has had little influence.[8]

From this approach one can trace not only the German system from the Berufsschule onwards, but the most of similar institutions in the many European countries which used German models in the 19th Century and after. But not only the Czechoslovak apprentice schools, the Soviet Labour reserve schools and their modern successors, and the like, can be traced to the 'monotechnic' approach; so in their way can the Soviet tekhnikumy and their various counterparts in the Socialist countries - also monotechnic, but teaching skills of a complexity and sophistication that makes combination with full academic secondary schooling seem quite appropriate. The various titles take account of this - in Romania, for instance, they were set up with the name of licee de specialitate (specialised lycees).[9] They have managed to find a rationale for the combination of vocational training and a respectable level of general academic study. But they are not polytechnical; they are dependent on selection by youngsters of a particular vocation, and are therefore vulnerable to other pressures that will be considered presently.

At the other end of the scale is the approach of people like T.H. Huxley, whose advocacy of 'scientific and technical education', though connected with the vocational demand, was not intended to assume early specific training. Huxley, indeed, in an address of 1877 on 'Technical Education', described it as 'simply a good education, with more attention to physical science, to drawing, and to modern languages, and there is nothing specially technical about it'. Further he declared that 'the workshop is the only real school for a handicraft'.[10] Again, we find Sir William Hart-Dyke defining one of the aims of the abortive Technical Instruction Bill of 1887 thus:

> ...giving elementary technical instruction, not by any means teaching a trade, but affording training of the hand and eye, either in woodwork or in ironwork, or in other subjects...[11]
> (Emphasis supplied)

Vocationally oriented this might be, but it still stopped short of training for specific jobs rather than an occupational range.

In some countries, however, England among them, a middle way prevailed. In 1888, for example, the Cross Commission's Final Report on Elementary Education had this to say:

> By technical instruction we understand instruction in those scientific and artistic principles which underlie the industrial occupation of the people..., as well as instruction in the manual practice involved in the application of those principles.[12]

In the same year, the Secretary of the City and Guilds considered that technical teaching could take the 'place of that instruction which, in former times, the master gave to his apprentice'.[13] This was not the end of the matter, but in spite of hesitations and qualifications the vocational principle, in broad terms at least, was established. The balance of the argument shifted to ensuring that due attention be given to the general principles underlying vocational activities. Thus, Michael Sadler put it in 1903:

> A well-planned course of liberal secondary education, lasting to

16 years at least, has been found elsewhere to be the best preparation for technical training and for the practical tasks of business life.[14]

Or again, in 1918:

> There can...be little doubt that the general trend of recent educational policy has been to emphasise two important ideas: (i) that vocational instruction must be based on a foundation of general education, (ii) that this vocational work should as far as possible include instruction in the scientific principles on which industrial processes are based.[15]

Interestingly, this idea crops up frequently in the monotechnical institutions in the socialist countries, but goes further to include studies which would nowadays claim to be of vocational relevance, but which can be justified on broader grounds, particularly the Marxist refusal to regard the worker purely in terms of the kind of work he does.

But two other developments of the 19th Century are relevant to the present discussion, less obvious though they are. The spread of general education, and its content, acquired a vocational justification and bias which affected the work of primary schools up to the recent past. Many of us must have spent hours in primary school learning to copy in copperplate handwriting, to write official letters, to set out and calculate bills of sale for groceries or cloth, and even to cost supplies of hay and oats in bushels and pecks. At a time when the more successful products of the elementary schools hoped for jobs as clerks, shop assistants or hostlers, this made some vocational sense. The fact that thousands of children were still doing this kind of thing long after primary school had become not a terminal course but a preparation for secondary education, and long after the invention of the typewriter and the cash-register, not to mention the disappearance of horse-drawn transport, is not so much a refutation of the argument that such a curriculum was essentially vocational as a reminder that educational practices may change more slowly than the social forces that shaped them. (They may, of course, be justified on new grounds, rather like the teachers who cling to the wearing of academic gowns because they keep the chalk-dust off their clothes.)

If some general education took on a vocational justification, some vocational education was urged on social or moral grounds. Marx took this view, seeing it as a means of liberation. But others saw it as a way of teaching the lower orders to keep in their place and behave themselves. Pestalozzi,[16] for all his later reputation as a progressive secular saint, was much concerned to 'educate the poor for poverty' by teaching skills that would serve them well in the station they would occupy in life; he was not concerned with encouraging mobility, even less with upsetting the social order. Nor, for all his dislike of the worst effects of 19th Century industrialism, was Ruskin. Speaking to an audience of Bradford businessmen in 1866 about the ideal mill with appropriately schooled employees, he said:

> In this mill are to be in constant employment from eight hundred to a thousand workers, who never drink, never strike, always go to Church on Sundays and always express themselves in respectful language.[17]

William Williams, MP had already made the same point more bluntly, when he

told the House of Commons in 1846 that 'a band of efficient schoolmasters is kept up at much less expense than a body of police or soldiery'.[18] It is perhaps not surprising that many of the Left saw vocational education as a device of the employing class to slot workers into roles in which they could be more easily kept in order; the refusal of the Workers' Educational Association in Great Britain to have anything to do with vocational subjects (or even those that could conceivably be vocational, like foreign languages), has to be understood in this light.

Finally, it has to be pointed out that the 19th Century resurgence of the universities in many countries (of which the post-war expansion is a further phase) can be seen as a reinstatement of their mediaeval role - not the one of disinterested scholarship that is often put forward, but the vocational one. From the rise of the medical school in 19th Century Edinburgh to the proliferation of business schools in our own day, they have been doing exactly what their mediaeval forebears did, albeit under the guise of other models.[19] Many of the socialist countries, notably the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, recognise this by organising their higher educational systems on a frankly professional basis, with the universities occupying a more limited range than in many other countries. The difference between these and many Western systems is not so much in functions as in the degree to which the vocational role of most higher education is recognised.

In this context, the development of the polytechnical idea, and attempts in socialist countries to put it into practice in the schools, is of particular interest. As has already been noted, Marx saw the growth of industrialism, for all its undesirable effects, as an opportunity. Writing in Capital, he declared:

> From the factory system budded, as Robert Owen has shown us in detail, the germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of production, but also as the only method of producing fully developed human beings.[20]

In a sense, this might be viewed as the reverse of the view articulated by Sadler, an advocacy of work for general, personal and social education rather than general education as a basis for vocational training. While the vocational application is not ignored, the relevance of work, which Marx foresaw as becoming 'not only a means of life, but life's prime want', is essentially related to intellectual and social development. One need not become too bound up with the details of Marx's suggested scheme - as Price has pointed out, Marx was no child psychologist, and 'his assertions were based on conditions very different from those of today, when the possibility of education was being offered to a group previously denied it'. The essential point - and that taken up in subsequent attempts to realise the principle - was the importance of work in helping the growing individual to perceive his role in society, to get him to see himself as having a part in it, and to illuminate the connection between theory and practice. It is significant that when Khruschev expounded a much increased role for polytechnical education in the schools in his 1958 Theses, he concentrated his argument on the expected social and ideological effects rather than on matters of manpower and job training, important though these undoubtedly were.[21]

A full and detailed analysis of the polytechnical principle and attempts to realise it is not possible here. Nor is it necessary; there is an extensive literature available, including the work of Shapovalenko in the USSR, a wealth of German material, and in English there is Smart's paper referring particularly to the DDR, Brian Holmes' chapter on the Soviet Union in Problems in Education, Price's recent examination of labour training in the USSR and China, and Charlton's examination of the development of the polytechnical idea in more general terms.[22] Rather than try to follow every change of policy and interpretation from Krupskaya onwards, it should be sufficient to observe that the problems arising from attempts to put it into practice have been of two kinds. Obviously, there have been practical difficulties, as witness the widespread criticisms in the USSR in 1964, which led to a reduction of the time given over to production practice and labour training for senior pupils. According to a commentary of the time,

> The chief reasons for (deficiencies in production training) lie in the fact that the necessary procedure has not been introduced everywhere... There has also been a lack of clarity in the planning of production training... Many programmes were needlessly overloaded with material not clearly needed...which artificially prolonged production training and, consequently, the length of course in the secondary school. All this caused serious discontent among pupils, parents and teachers as well.[23]

Some two years later, the Minister of Education of the USSR was announcing plans to shift the emphasis of production practice away from work outside the school on farms and in factories, and to concentrate rather on workshops and plots within the schools themselves. Some schools decided to carry on with the system of external practice, but the Minister's statement - 'let them work out their experience' - did not suggest a high measure of confidence. 'Life', he said, 'has confirmed the profundity of the Leninist idea of a polytechnical but not vocational general secondary school'.[24] By that time, it was clear that few factories had the facilities or the personnel to cope adequately with production practice on the scale envisaged in 1958; that many factories found it difficult to provide anything constructive or instructive for young people to do; and that many of the young people themselves, and their parents and teachers, could see little point in spending so much of their time in this way, and were showing considerable resentment. But if, by the middle and late '60s, a good deal of production practice had turned out to be counter-productive, this did not necessarily mean a rejection of the principle. While the time given to it was being reduced, the authorities were still insisting that there was to be no return to the previous system:

> Working out the practical problems arising from this decree on reducing the polytechnical element , it is important to bear in mind that the fundamental principles...of the Leninist idea of linking education with productive labour remain immovable - the secondary school was, is and will be a general educational labour polytechnical school with training in production.[25]

The shortcomings were seen as problems of resources, planning and performance, not of principle, and soluble by more careful organisation and the provision of adequate resources.

But the difficulties have gone beyond that, and it is tempting to see here

a conflict between the Marxist polytechnical principle and the monotechnical principle referred to earlier. In the Soviet Union, for instance, an extensive network of vocational schools existed. Those who taught in them, and the students too, knew what they were about. The main purpose was training for a job; and other studies, whether related to the job or not, could be accommodated easily enough on a purely additive basis. In the case of 'labour training' and 'production practice', geared to purposes other than directly vocational, a great many people did not know what they were about. All too often, the result was ill-though-out courses, much time-filling and repetitive activity, and a good deal of resentment all round. Even when the plans did seem to work well, what they were doing was not what the planners had in mind at all, not polytechnical education for the all-round development of the individual but monotechnical job training for secondary school students - jobs, furthermore, which most of them had no intention of practising. The programmes of labour training which have been developed since the mid-1960s, attempting to link theoretical study with practical work, are an attempt to correct this. In place of vocational training, there is vocational orientation, 'broader than before', a programme of giving the student an opportunity of sampling a range of jobs available in the area (without making any commitment) in order not only to understand how they relate to the economy of the area, but to help him make a more informed choice - thus serving a general educational as well as a vocational need.[26]

Polytechnical education, as understood in the socialist countries, is theoretically well developed, and its effective realisation is largely a matter of curriculum planning, of more tellingly connecting the teaching of chemistry and physics with industrial, and biology with agricultural, production, avoiding the twin dangers of distorting the theoretical content on the one hand, and making the work element appear as an addition or even intrusion on the other. Nobody now pretends that this is easy, but at least a great deal of work is being done on it, and improvements in training should ensure a supply of teachers who understand better than many in the past what polytechnical education is supposed to be about.

There remains the problem of what to do about specific vocational training at school level. It still has obvious attractions in many ways, of course. It is conceptually easier to handle by both the teacher and the taught. Its relevance is more easily seen by the students, and motivation is likely to be high, judging from the popularity of vocational courses in Eastern and many Western countries alike. It is also, arguably, easier to relate to manpower planning, a factor not easy to ignore.

But there are difficulties which in the long term may prove to have more weight. In spite of the attempts to enrich the content of vocational training by adding to it a suitable range of theoretical study, there remains the objection that work is not all a person does, and that centring education at a formative stage on one limited (if important) aspect of life runs the danger of distorting the individual's growth; in this, at least, it is possible that the Greeks had a point.

Even on practical grounds, there is need for caution. Just as the growing sophistication of work skills took a great deal of vocational training out of the apprenticeship system into the realm of formal schooling, so the increasing rate of industrial and technological change is taking it out of the schools. Quite apart from the philosophical objections, there is not all that much to be gained in training an adolescent, specifically and in

detail, for a job that will probably have changed radically in a decade or so, and might not even still exist. The logic of recurrent education applies clearly to job training; and 'learning to learn' topped up at need with later specific training and retraining, makes better sense in this perspective. The fixed body of knowledge and skills no longer holds good as it did in earlier times when the shape of present structures began to emerge. In a way, the philosophical debate is being short-circuited by practical considerations, and, to cite a Soviet example, the tendency for tekhnikum and trade school courses, formerly alternatives to secondary general schooling, to be taken after the secondary school follows the logic of this development.[27] In a way the polytechnical idea of work training as part of general education is given reinforcement by practical developments in a way Marx can hardly have foreseen. It also gives an added reason for looking harder at the false dichotomies with which this paper began, for the unconscious retention of the associated stereotypes can, and does, get in the way of rational examination of the needs of the school and the community. The connection between education for work and education for other kinds of human activity is much more complex and subtle than those operating educational systems, at all levels, often seem to realise. If the school is to meet these needs, this connection has to be examined carefully and related to the formation of policy; and it is here that the educational theorists, including comparativists, have a practical contribution to make.

Notes and References

1 The system of labelling classes was intended to conceal invidious distinction from the pupils, and was thus regarded as an advance on the older system of dividing years into a, b, c, etc. classes on overall ability. The pupils showed themselves extremely quick in grasping the system and its implications. It might be as well to add that division of this kind is now uncommon in Scotland for the first year or two of secondary school, but something like it can often be found among the older classes.

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3 See Bowen (op.cit., Vol.II), or Boyd & King, The History of Western Education.

4 W.J. Ong, 'Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite'; F. Campbell, 'Latin and the Elite Tradition in Education'. Both in P.W. Musgrave, Sociology, History and Education (Methuen, 1970).

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23 Sovietskaya Rossiya, 13 August 1964. Desyatiletnyaya, Trudovaya, Politekhnicheskaya (Uchitel'skaya gazeta, 15 August 1964). See also Novyi uchebnyi god: kakim on budet v shkole? (Interview with RSFSR Minister of Education, E.I. Afanasenko.

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14 SCHOOL AND WORK: THE PROBLEM AS IT AFFECTS GIRLS

Margaret B Sutherland (Leeds)

It may seem unnecessary to propose that at least for a short time we limit our consideration of the relationships between school and work to only half the population. But I have chosen this approach because I think that too often the unisex approach to educational data and educational discussion leads to misunderstanding of what is really happening in education and what is likely to happen. Too often statements which do not differentiate between the educational circumstances of boys and of girls lead to unwarranted complacency and unjustified assumptions. If, for example, we are told of increases in numbers entering higher education, we tend to accept this as a sign of progress: but the fact may be that women are entering higher education hardly at all while more and more men enter it; or that, while numbers of men students are remaining constant, more and more women are entering: or even that the numbers of man students are declining while those of women are increasing greatly. We need more discriminating information. Similarly, in discussing curriculum reform or the use of new methods we cannot assume that both sexes will react to these and be affected by them in the same way. The interaction between school and the world of work is a case in point. Let us therefore consider this interaction as it affects girls.

In many countries the school system can be and is criticised for its neglect of vocational preparation of pupils and its failure to make pupils aware, while they are still at school, of the world of work and their future contribution to it. Strangely enough, girls may have enjoyed a more favoured position than boys in this respect. It can indeed by argued that since public schools were first established, the education provided for girls has had very clearly in mind their future work and their preparation for it: such provision has even taken the form of special educational institutions for girls - flickskolan, Frauenschule - so that their future work could dominate the curriculum. And society, as represented by family and relations, has been most willing to allow girls work experience while they are still at school; schools indeed have rather had to try to intervene, in European countries as in African, to try to prevent work experience in domestic tasks and child-minding from absorbing too much of the girl's time and energy (and note that one still tends to say '<u>too</u> much' as if recognising that some such work experience is inevitable for most girls).

It depends, obviously, on what one regards as work. In 1923 England's Consultative Committee on the Differentiation of the Curriculum for Boys and Girls in Secondary Schools stated that: 'the ordinary girl, whether she looks forward to the married state or not, should be given an education which prepares her to earn her livelihood. It is clear, therefore, that if the education we offer to girls is to subserve the needs of the majority, it must be designed both to prepare the pupil for household duties (employing this term in its broadest sense) and for wage earning ..... There may be good reasons from other standpoints for further differentiating between the curriculum of boys and that of girls in Secondary schools, but it would be unwise to base such differentiation upon the existing differences in the work done by men and women, since experience suggests that the division of work between the sexes has changed frequently in the past, and that the range of employment followed by women is likely on the

whole to increase'.[1] This statement was in advance of its time; even in 1948 so eminent an educator as John Newsom could write: 'What then should be the guiding principles in planning a curriculum for the reasonably intelligent girl, whose full-time education will cease at sixteen or thereabouts? In essence I suggest it should not differ from that designed for all girls whose future career is unlikely to make heavy demands upon their intellectual capacity but for whom marriage will be the first job to make real demands upon their minds and spirits'.[2]

Schools in Europe have in the past tended to the Newsom view and accepted responsibility for preparation of girls for work in domestic or home-making roles (no matter what criticisms may justly be raised about the effectiveness of the training offered). Some realisation of girls' employment in routine clerical posts has led to provisions of vocational training for such work. But otherwise, the implicit acceptance of girls' wage-earning experience as limited to relatively unskilled, non-demanding occupations has meant neglect of preparation for future occupational roles. For the more academic girl the foreseen careers of nursing, civil service or teaching have seemed to call for no great effort on the school's part. And this attitude has often been shared by girls themselves in many countries. Yet now that there is a more general acceptance of the view that women are likely to find employment outside the home, that they have skills not fully utilised in the narrow range of occupations and responsibilities traditionally offered to them, school systems have particular problems to solve if girls' occupational choices and preparation are not to remain unreasonably restricted and if girls' attitudes towards work-roles are to be improved. These problems complicate the general problem of educational systems of linking school with work and educating future workers.

The need for the basic school system to take effective action is the greater as it is clear that girls' chances of full-time further education in various countries are very limited as compared with those of boys; e.g., in the U.K., Department of Education and Science Statistics show that in 1971, of young people between the ages of 16 and 19 released by their employers for day-time further education, 35.9% of young men and 9.6% of young women benefited by such provision.[3]

Yet statistics for attendance at evening classes show female students present in large numbers; there is therefore a demand for further education for women though it must be recognised that such attendance by women is often at courses which do not lead to a recognised qualification.

Even where school systems have made innovations tending to a closer association between school work and vocational preparation, the effect on girls' future work chances may not be really beneficial. 'Link courses' (day courses provided in technical colleges but attended by pupils still enrolled full-time in schools) may give young people an introduction to a work-oriented situation and awareness of other young workers; but they may, as was pointed out in 1973 in a report of the Institute of Careers Officers[4] teach girls mainly in commercial skills, whereas girls entering work will very often be employed in the distributive trades or in hairdressing: thus these courses may have little real relevance to girls' future work. (It is of course a peculiar characteristic of British education that such developments depend on local initiative; which in turn depends largely on what teaching resources happen to be available locally). A recent report by Scottish Inspectors noted that such link courses were more often

available for boys than girls, offered girls a narrow range of choices, mainly in traditional 'feminine' occupations and in effect kept girls away 'not only from the more obviously male craft courses but also from courses concerning architecture, surveying and drawing office practice'.[5]

During the basic school period (i.e. during the years of compulsory attendance) the education of girls for their future role as workers (outside the home) can be affected seriously by certain features of the country's school system: (a) the curriculum (b) provision of work experience, industrial visits (c) internal structure of schools (d) teaching materials. Let us consider these briefly.

(a) The curriculum

It has been found in a number of countries that the acceptance of some studies as 'girls' subjects' has far-reaching effects on the kind of school-leaving qualification girls attain, their subsequent choice of courses in higher education and their possibilities of entry to various occupations. Such choices of subject and women's consequent restricted participation in higher education have been widely documented (e.g. the Scandinavian survey published in 1972-3; the Carnegie Commission Report on Opportunities for Women in Higher Education; DES statistics of GCE/CSE exam entries, UCCA reports in the U.K.; the International Study of Achievement in Mathematics: a survey of girls' education in Le Monde de l'Education, juin, 1975). Schools thus have a situation in which some kinds of remedial action have to be taken if a large number of future workers are not to continue to limit their possible occupational choices in an irrational way. (Naturally the school system must recognise also the importance of perceptions of sex roles in subject choice or in work so far as boys are concerned). But countries differ in the amount of control they exercise over the composition of the curriculum. A particularly sensitive area is that point in secondary education where some systems allow options. One finds here a possible conflict of principles. So far as differentiation of aptitudes is concerned, and the freedom of the individual to follow personal preferences, it would seem reasonable to allow considerable freedom to choose subjects. Yet the experience of the United States has shown that in the comprehensive high school the freedom to choose between academic/non-academic subjects, college-preparatory/ vocational subjects has meant that social class influences have come into play with undesirable results in that some pupils have failed to develop their talents and to make best use of occupational opportunities. (Offering a 'choice' of different types of school has of course shown even more clearly the effect of social class influences. But at present, given the general movement towards comprehensive schools, it is the problem of the curriculum within schools which is the more urgent). Freedom to choose subjects similarly can mean that girls opt for 'girls'' subjects with consequent restriction on occupational choices. The situation has been well illustrated in Sweden during the years when options were more generally available in the basic comprehensive school; and a table given by Lars Kjellberg[6] illustrates the situation in the Continuation School in 1970:

	Percentages	
	Men	Women
Humanistic Line	17	83
Social Science Line	40	60
Economic Line	52	48
Natural Science Line	69	31
Technical Line	96	4

The monolithic curriculum of the Soviet Union, by preventing girls from opting out of Science and Maths in the 10-year school shows one way in which school organisation can keep future occupational choices of women open. Similarly, the inclusion of training in work skills for all pupils in Soviet and East German schools may well be the one way of encouraging girls to acquire mastery of technical trades and proving their competence in them.

It should be remembered that limitation of range of subject interests at the school level can also pre-determine women's access to 'second chance' education and so limit later vocational moves. N.E. McIntosh and A. Woodley note that while the proportion of women applicants for Open University places has risen in an encouraging way during the relatively few years of the Open University's existence, yet women applicants still tend to apply mainly for humanistic studies courses, with the result that, since the number of places per course is limited, the proportion of women actually admitted to the Open University cannot rise so quickly as the proportion of applications made by women for places.[7]

But is school policy with regard to the curriculum conclusive? One must recognise that even in the Soviet Union there is still a distinctive sex-role patterning of occupations, although the range of occupations entered by women is wider so that a perceptible proportion of women is to be found in formerly 'male' occupations. The school system in the Soviet Union as in other countries has to contend with the strength of popular tradition (as well as with possible innate biases); some occupations continue to be thought characteristic of one sex rather than the other.

(b) Industrial visits, 'work experience'

Popular traditions affect employment policies. So the school system which tries to bring pupils into contact with the world of work by means of visits or practical work experience will find that these contacts also convey information about existing sex-roles in occupations. If one considers, for example, work experience offered in Swedish schools, one finds that the facilities offered and pupils' experience of work may easily follow the 'normal' sex patterning and, for girls, give a restricted range of choices: (Woman in Sweden: pp 51-52, Table 3.24)[8]

'Top ten' trades in practical vocational experience for pupils (about 15 years)

	Choices of the boys	Number	Per cent
1	Workshop and metal-shop work, construction	14,760	14
2	Electrical work	12,043	11
3	Commercial office work and similar	8,928	8
4	Other office work (not accounting, cash work, shorthand or typing)	5,791	5
5	Technical work	5,008	5
6	Civil security and protection work	4,856	4
7	Teaching	3,792	3
8	Artistic and literary work	3,706	3
9	Food production	3,461	3
10	Agriculture, game protection and similar	3,297	3
	Other choices	42,783	39
	Total	108,425	100

	Choices of the girls	Number	Per cent
1	Hygiene and nursing	21,919	22
2	Teaching	17,396	17
3	Commercial office work etc.	8,532	9
4	Artistic and literary work	6,929	7
5	Domestic work, restaurant work	6,218	6
6	Other work in the field of hygiene and nursing	6,031	6
7	Beauty treatment	5,199	5
8	Other office work (not accounting, cash work shorthand or typing)	5,050	5
9	Agriculture, game protection and similar	4,018	4
10	Selling	2,838	3
	Other choices	15,700	16
	Total	99,830	100

The numbers refer to the practical vocational experience offered to the pupils. The pupils may have had another first choice.'

It is an unusual careers counsellor who can plan visits to show women working in non-traditional occupations or produce speakers who cut across the accepted sex-role patterns. The schools themselves, coeducational schools in the USA and the UK for example, often demonstrate that women occupy subordinate positions in the teaching hierarchy.

(c) Internal structure of schools

This reminds us of the possible effects of the decision to make a school system coeducational or sex-segregated. There is a world-wide trend towards coeducational schools; but such schools do not necessarily have the liberating effects they are sometimes confidently assumed to have on girls' subject and occupational choices. A survey by HM Inspectors in a sample of schools in England in 1974 illustrated this point very interestingly.[9] Where coeducational schools offer options, the traditional pattern of sex choices often develops; girls' entry to traditional 'male' subjects and eventually to male-dominated faculties in higher education may indeed be rather better fostered by girls' schools;[10] and girls' schools may give rather more examples of women's occupation of authority positions (though again social influences and observations outside the school may counteract these effects).

(d) Teaching materials

Some more positive interventions may be made again within subjects. It is as yet rather early to say how successful courses or books discussing the role of men and women in society and in work are likely to be in Sweden or in the United States - or even in those individual schools in the United Kingdom where enthusiastic social studies teachers or heads have introduced them. There is always the danger of reaction against too explicit teaching. More subtle intervention may be through the composition of textbooks and other teaching materials. The choice of topics in history, for example, or the choice of books to be read in literature classes may confirm or alter sex-role expectations. But there seems to be as yet little evidence of changes in the pictures offered by teaching materials. In modern language textbooks in a number of European countries, for example, one still finds that the number of boy characters in the 'stories' is in excess of the number of female characters; male and female work roles are traditional: audio-visual courses still frequently purvey the traditional sex roles in

everyday situations. But in some Scandinavian textbooks there is evidence of attempts to break away from racial and other stereotypes, to give fair presentation of 'minority' or other groups. One must recognise that textbooks also need to conform to some extent with social realities. In England one can confidently expect laughter of surprise from the audience when one reads a Russian school textbook extract telling of the girl who wants to be a doctor 'like her father' (that passes) and the boy who wants to be an engineer - 'like his mother'.

Possibilities of compulsion by education

Ultimately it remains to be decided whether the educational authorities of a country do indeed wish to make changes affecting the occupational attitudes and choices of girls. The effectiveness of their decision will then depend on the extent to which the system is centralised but also on the extent to which the authorities' view is shared by society in general and the teachers in particular. Employers also are a factor to be reckoned with in any attempt by the school system to change the education of future workers; and the school system - or that part of it represented by vocational counsellors - could well feel that to produce in girls expectations which will not be realised in work after school is bad teaching. (Yet there is a difference between guiding towards specific occupations and discouraging acceptance of general principles about women holding less important and subordinate posts). There is too the major question of the economic condition of the country. The Soviet Union has needed women workers; East Germany has needed skilled and professional workers. But with rising unemployment in the UK, for example, a hardening of the traditional attitude that men need jobs and have a right to them while women working outside the home are indulging a personal whim might well occur. The relationship between educational planning and economic planning cannot be disregarded but if plans are to be sound, we must be conscious of all factors involved.

There is also the question of proposals for the redevelopment of higher and further education. It will be ironic if, when girls are gradually achieving an equal proportion of places in full-time higher education, that system is reorganised into part-time or intermittent education and girls lose ground. Will the smallish numbers of women in Maths-Science (studies in which end-on full-time higher education seems important) be further reduced because women, with lower career aspirations, will not push to enter a limited sector of full-time end-on higher education? certainly the U68 proposals in Sweden include some which might be of special assistance to women - greater geographical spread of access to higher education, for instance. But in so far as recurrent education is associated with occupational position and skills, there is a possibility that those in the less skilled occupations, in the lower paid levels, will be less likely to profit by it; and that is where women come in. There is also the problem of family care; granted, women whose children have reached secondary school age may not be regarded as neglecting first priorities if they devote themselves to furthering their education; but that may mean waiting some years longer than men for further education. Where education is a consumer good, this does not greatly matter. But where it is of occupational significance then - unless the pattern of employment opportunities also changes to fit in with recurrent education - a later age of access could be damaging to women's occupational prospects. Perhaps compulsion is the only factor in educational provision which can ensure women's access.

Schools' problems in educating for work are thus so much more complicated when girls have to be provided for. It is not simply a matter of providing what was not provided before; it is a matter of counteracting many influences which are strong - not least the influences coming from direct observation of, and contacts with, the world of work. More extensive revisions of materials, curricula and school structure are needed. There is also the complication that any school system would be unwise if - in the pursuit of improved vocational preparation - it encouraged girls to abandon their more-than-conventional interest in humane studies. In their exclusion from some forms of occupational preoccupations women may also have escaped from some of the horrors of the rat-race; their education must continue to reinforce - and even to bring into the world of work - the study of human beings.

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15 EDUCATION & WORK

REFORMS IN DANISH VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Knud D Wagner (Copenhagen)

In the history of Danish education it must be admitted that there have been no strong bonds between formal education and the future careers of the main part of the population. Thus in the 19th century when the vast majority of the population were occupied in agriculture, only rudiments of relevant knowledge would be found in the curricula of the primary school, which provided for all the formal education received by most people in manual occupations.

The young people had their training either as apprentices in the manual trades or simply by 'growing up on a farm' as the introduction to a career in agriculture.

The professional and administrative occupation of course required an education at a higher institution, university or college, but even here the connection between real life and learning was not too obvious. Thus it is of interest that Grundtvig, the founding father of the Folk High School movement, at an early stage in his thinking had an institution in mind which would provide a better education for future administrators to serve the nation and the people than the university did in those days.

When eventually the Folk High School became a reality, mainly influenced by Grundtvig's original ideas, the curricula were often given a practical turn, containing agriculture and home economics in theory and practice.

During this century Danish education has undergone a rapid development with important improvements, such as the introduction of the Middle School in 1903 offering a bridge between the public Primary School and higher education; secondary education was made available for all by the 1937 act. A gradual move away from a two-branch structure commenced with the 1957 act and full integration will be completed in the near future. There has also been an extension of compulsory education. Reforms of similar importance have taken place in other parts of the educational system, notably in upper secondary education and in higher education, where the growth of the number of students and the broadening of the range of subjects offered are probably the most conspicuous features.

Until recently, however, the education of young people not heading for a higher education has been left rather untouched. They were offered an additional 8th, 9th and 10th year (the recent rise of school leaving age means that all pupils now have to stay on until the end of 9th grade). The Youth School was another important innovation offering voluntary evening classes in a variety of subjects. But the very important educational sector of vocational training for commerce, industry and the trades was still left to the traditional apprentice system where the young person worked for a master or a company under a contract for 2, 3, 4 or 5 years according to the trade in question, and obtained a theoretical foundation either in an evening class, a day school, or a sandwich course.[1]

Three main reasons account for a change in this situation. First of all

there has been a growing concern among politicians and administrators about the relative importance of this sector of the educational system to the continued growth of the national wealth. Secondly the rising costs of education in the national budget[2] have lead to an attempt to rationalize the whole structure of Danish education, a development that might at the same time prevent the waste of manpower in dead ends of the educational system. Thirdly the traditional training was criticized for being inefficient to meet the demands of modern society. This criticism took the following main forms:

a) Modern technology and economy had outdated the value of 'on the job' training.

b) The flexibility, and the possibilities of further education which are necessary in a modern educational programme were more or less lacking.

c) The democratic ideal of 'parity of esteem' of the various branches of education and training in the post-compulsory education could not be attained.

The reforms that have been suggested,[3] and which are already being implemented - at least as innovative projects - have been concentrated on two fronts: a complete reshaping of the structure and contents of the training of students within the technical and commercial fields, and an improved teacher training system under the lead of a newly established institute of vocational teacher training, Statens Erhvervspaedagogiske Laereruddannelse.

The new structure of the vocational training programmes abolishes the old fixed master/apprentice relationship. Instead, the first year of training is spent on basic education which is given within very broad frames, e.g. commercial and clerical fields, iron and metal industries, graphic trades, etc. Instruction will be balanced between formal classwork and workshop practice, and the next step in the students' choice of training will take place under careful guidance. The 'general education subjects' - Danish, Arithmetic, Languages, Contemporary Orientation, - which played a certain part even in the traditional vocational schools, will be given a stronger position, thus probably giving the new system higher status.

Subsequent years of training (the number depending on the trade in question) will be spent partly in school and partly in workshop practice.

One of the goals of this new training is to enable the student to leave or enter the course according to his needs and wishes. At present this goal of flexibility has not been achieved. Whereas the basic training with its broad scope of choices and options seems to work efficiently and has already been implemented for nearly all important trades, the subsequent years, where the student must specialize, in many cases offer too little flexibility. Measures are now being taken to overcome this problem and to improve the situation further by formalizing vocational training for all youngsters including those going into occupations which are traditionally labelled 'unskilled', e.g. transportaion, building, domestic work, etc.

These measures should lead to a better coordination of the various

organizations in charge of vocational training. At the moment the picture is rather mixed up, with responsibilities divided between public, self governing and private organizations, responsible to different ministries.[4]

The other important change that has taken place in the last decades is the improvement in vocational teacher training. Traditionally, teachers in this section of the educational system were recruited from a wide range of occupations and only those who taught the 'school subjects' could be expected to have undergone a formal teacher training. The rest had little, if any, instruction of the theoretical aspects of teaching. Today prospective teachers in vocational schools have to sit an examination in educational theory, psychology, and didactics on the same terms as university trained teachers for the senior high school. Moreover, in-service courses on lesson planning etc. are offered to those employed under the traditional conditions.

Evidently the innovations which have been sketched in this paper are still so recent - some of them have not even been tried out on a large scale - that we have not had enough experience to judge whether or not they are a success. It is not difficult to point to some factors which may pull in the wrong direction.

First and foremost, the Danish national economy - even before the present world wide effects of the oil crisis - was out of balance (with annual public expenditure growing by 17% and the gross national product growing by only 10%). Although the vocational training sector is less likely to be the first to be hit by cuts, it is obvious that education is among the largest and fastest growing parts of the national budget and probably an easy target for savings.[5]

Another problem is how the new vocational training will be related to the 'regular' senior high school, the Gymnasium. Much discussion has been focused on access to higher education and on the unequal social distribution of university students, a fact that has been underlined by several research reports.[6] There has been a tendency to consider all those who left education without a completed senior high school certificate (Studentereksamen) as drop-outs. Less questioned has been the relevance of the education offered in the Gymnasium in relation to non-academic occupations. An attempt to give the new vocational training the same prestige as the Gymnasium may lead to an unbalanced curriculum with too much stress on general or academic subjects, and this may cause students to fail who neither wish to study, nor need, nor are gifted at academic subjects.

A third problem is related to the present policy of teacher training for the vocational area. There has been a tendency to rely heavily on centralized curricula in educational technology probably from a feeling that the teachers concerned, often coming from non-scholastic and non-educational backgrounds, might need extra support in their profession. As more and more doubt is cast on this way of educational planning among educational theorists, it may be necessary to re-think even some of the newly constructed teaching programmes and leave more initiative and responsibility to the teachers themselves to ensure that innovations in vocational training are successful.

A final problem is presented by the attitude of the students to prolonged

formal schooling which they may feel to be an extension of the school of their childhood. Even if there has been plenty to criticize about the old fashioned master/apprentice system it was at least closer to 'real life' than the new one can ever hope to be. Perhaps it would be of relevance to pay a little attention to the 'deschooling' critics' views upon present tendencies in education at large before we judge the innovations in vocational training an unquestioned blessing.

Notes and References

1 One direct link between the school system and the occupational world ought to be mentioned, as its importance has been growing in the last decades: Vocational guidance, counselling, together with shorter periods of practice and job orientation are regular parts of the curricula in the older classes.

2 Of a total public investment of 7,395 M. Danish Kroner, 1,400 M Kr. was spent on education, by far the largest sum in the budget (1970). Source: Government Working Party Report: Problems of Long Term Economic Planning in Denmark. Copenhagen 1971.

3 For further details: Danish Ministry of Education pamphlet: Recommendation on a reform of Technical and Vocational Education. Copenhagen 1974.

4 8 ministries - besides the Ministry of Education are involved in some kind of education of the 16-19 years age group. For further details 'paedagogik' 1974 No 2. Copenhagen 1974.

5 Even the manpower involved was estimated to grow from 71,000 in 1970 to 105,000 in 1985. Problems of Long Term Economic Planning (op. cit.)

6 The Danish National Institute of Social Research (Socialforskningsinstituttet) has published several reports on the relationship between social class and education.

16 EDUCATION, WORK AND THE COMMUNITY IN EAST AFRICA

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Education relates to work in a qualitatively different way in East Africa than in Europe or North America, and as a consequence the debate about the relevance of school curricula to out-of-school conditions is carried on in very different terms to that current in the industrialised countries. This present paper will examine the main dimensions of the education-work spectrum, and, to avoid giving the impression that East Africa is a homogeneous mass, some of the principal features of Tanzania's approach to our theme will be contrasted with the style of her next door neighbour, Kenya. As it is still frequently asserted that ex-colonial countries cling to outdated metropolitan practices and structures, it may be worth noticing how far this is true of these two states that have had a little more than ten years of independence from British rule.

Of central importance to understanding the pressure upon schools is the fact that in both these countries there is no shortage of work, but there are very few jobs. This is not an artificial distinction but accurately reflects local usage and realities, where only a minority of the adult male population are actually paid for their employment; the rest work on their own account.[1] This is not to suggest that self-employment cannot be profitable in agriculture or petty trade, for there are obviously many examples of people who have managed to climb up out of hawking or petty craftwork into the relative security of African business. Despite this, to the thousands of young people in school, a <u>real</u> job is a regular paid job, and the school system is the single most obvious route whereby people may hope to acquire one. The impact of the job-market on schools is of course accentuated by the fact that the economies of Third World countries are not in a position to create annually very many wage and salary jobs. They are, however, under very great political obligation to democratise access to education as rapidly as possible. The consequence is that the certification needed to secure a certain level of job is constantly being raised.

Something of the same process is discernible in the industrialised countries, but there the careers protected by such and such secondary school certification are not separated by a yawning gulf from jobs that do not require a certain minimum of, say, 'O' or 'A' levels. Indeed, all available evidence in the West would suggest that the income differentials between certificate-protected jobs and non-certificate have been dramatically reduced, and in some cases overturned completely. By contrast, in the Third World it often appears that income differentials are still widening, with successful graduates of secondary or tertiary levels receiving anywhere between 10 and 20 times the <u>per capita</u> income. The central role of the school in job preparation and allocation in the poorer countries may be pointed up by its being almost unthinkable that any young person should <u>voluntarily</u> leave school (neither primary nor secondary education is compulsory in East Africa), whereas in Britain, at any rate, it was obvious even before the recent raising of the school leaving age, that thousands of 14 and 15 year olds regarded school attendance as directly blocking their desire to leave and get a job.

SCHOOL AND SKILL IN EAST AFRICA: THE PRIMARY LEVEL

Bearing in mind, therefore, that there is a sense in which the entire

school system of a Third World country is vocational or job-oriented in the way we have just described, it may still be useful to analyse the debate about 'relevance' at various levels, and look in particular at the issue of specifically technical studies. As far as possible, we shall also note the role of the local community at the points where it touches policy and development. Indeed, before dealing separately with Kenya and Tanzania it should be said that Western observers have frequently been led to criticise the irrelevance of African primary schooling on the grounds that the primary schools seem not the least involved in the local community. This line of argument is usually concerned with the lack of a community service function in the nation's primary schools; it suggests also that somehow, because these states are poorer, there should be a higher degree of community action by schools than has marked the mass primary systems of the two major colonial powers, France and Britain. Be that as it may, on other criteria the primary school does deserve the term 'community education' more than any other level of the education system in East Africa, and certainly more than most European primary systems.

Financially the village primary school is entirely the creation of the local community, or rather of the parents of school-goers, who contribute, for as long as they use the school, to the building and maintenance of classes and teachers' houses. In Kenya's rural areas, therefore, primary schools are the direct creation of parents, not of local or regional authorities or of central government. So far from being foreign excrescences, they are very much a part of the village, and are built of stone, wood or mud depending on the village's prosperity.

(i) Kenya

Having stressed this element of community involvement, it must be admitted that Kenya's primary schools are only job-oriented in the sense that the system aspires to those jobs that secondary graduates can perhaps achieve. In a word, their concern is with selection. Just as the drive in community-sponsored nursery education is not play but work (i.e. reading and writing), so a good deal of the seven-year primary school is infected by preoccupations with selection. Given the reality that primary education is something of a national lottery for all who would gamble on secondary entrance, there is not very much that might be attempted in internal innovation or curricular reform that will not be contaminated by this wider message of schooling.[2]

Accordingly the government have not tried to introduce any pre-vocational elements in the last years of primary which might be of direct practical use to the 60% to 80% of leavers who will not be able to reach or afford secondary education. Kenya has judged, possibly rightly, that although primary education will in practice be terminal for this large proportion of the cohort, no pupils are likely to regard themselves as terminal until they have sat and failed the secondary entrance examination one or more times. Hence, unlike the non-certificate streams of some European schools, there is no demarcated group that does not somehow hope to be successful, and hence no captive audience for a rural skills curriculum. It is not so much age as motivation therefore that would militate against a more practical orientation for studies in the upper primary, since, given present rates of repeating classes, many primary school leavers are already 14 or 15 years old.

In the years immediately after Independence in 1964, the skill-lessness of

the primary school leaver was a burning issue, and a number of attempts were made to compensate after school for the absence of job-orientation.[3] The most well known of these are the village polytechnic movement and the Kenya National Youth Service. These have achieved considerable publicity internationally, particularly the polytechnic movement for its stress on skills for self-employment. Nevertheless, they recruit annually only a fraction of the quarter of a million pupils who leave the national primary system.

We shall notice later that international development bodies have very recently begun to re-stress the importance of the basic primary cycle in the poorer countries of the world and have become particularly interested in its potential for skill acquisition. On the other hand, Kenya itself clearly does not regard primary school leavers now as a crisis area. Two factors account for this: (a) secondary schools continue to expand as rapidly as local communities and government can manage and (b) there is plenty of evidence that primary school leavers and drop-outs do acquire skills at great speed once they have left. Perhaps a majority of them work on their own account rather than hold paid jobs. Still, within a year or two they have picked up a wide spectrum of skills. And, most important from a policy viewpoint, a good number of these skills would simply not be replicable in the primary school context. To attempt to offer formally even a few of them would add dramatically to the already high costs of primary schooling. In addition, unlike the present laissez-faire system in which primary leavers shift for themselves, and pick up skills on the job or through informal apprenticeships which they then use in self-employment, it is possible that the primary schools would be unable effectively to teach even limited skills without orienting the pupils' aspirations towards paid employment.[4]

(ii) Tanzania

Tanzania is a geographically larger and poorer country than Kenya although the population is almost identical at 12 million. And it has, of course, attracted a good deal more publicity than Kenya for its attempt radically to alter the relationship of education to jobs and work that we have sketched for its neighbour. The seven years of educational engineering (1968-1974) cannot properly be separated from the wider moves towards socialist transformation which President Nyerere has spearheaded. Nevertheless, as the first batch of Tanzanian primary students has just left in 1974 the schools which for seven years have been trying to implement the core of Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance,[5] it may be worth looking at the main structural changes in the schools - even if we cannot begin to evaluate their impact on the students.

Amongst the many ills of the Tanzanian primary schools analysed by Nyerere in 1967, there were several intimately connected with our present theme:

1. There was the contradiction about the purpose of primary. It was in effect a terminal course for 87% of those in the top class, yet its syllabus was only intelligible as a preparation for higher studies. The use of English as a medium, for instance, only made sense for the fraction of students whose competence would be confirmed by secondary schooling. As in Kenya now, the sole aim of primary education was to offer an opportunity to be examined for secondary entrance. But, unlike Kenya, the issue of terminality could not be side-stepped by concentrating on secondary expansion, for on egalitarian and financial grounds it seemed

wiser to Nyerere to expand opportunities for a thorough primary education rather than dangle a few more secondary places before the public.

2. Apart from failing to offer useful skills to the 87% terminal students, the primary school was of little value to the community who had built it. School literacy and numeracy were not related to solving village problems, nor - as a corollary - did there seem to be anything that the school could learn from its own village. The school appeared to down-grade village knowledge about traditions, skills and agriculture, and made no use of any but government teachers as sources of knowledge. Implicitly it suggested that the uncertificated, unexamined life of the villager was not worth living.

3. Moreover, Nyerere saw that the primary school was not prepared practically to help develop the local community whose backwardness and illiteracy it despised. Those being schooled were in fact entirely unproductive, year after year, and were contributing nothing to the thousands of rural communities whose taxes kept the system going.

The President and the Ministry of National Education have given a good deal of attention to correcting these abuses over the years 1967-74. Yet, despite this considerable activity, Nyerere has gone on record as recently as May 1974, and admitted that he has become 'increasingly convinced that we in Tanzania either have not yet found the right educational policy, or have not yet succeeded in implementing it - or some combination of these two alternatives'.[6] It is, however, useful to examine some of the attempted reforms over this period, particularly where they touch on the relation of education, work and the local community.

First, there has been an assault on unproductiveness, and certainly the majority of primary schools have made efforts to make money or save expenses by growing a cash crop, such as cotton, tea or coffee. Education-for-self-reliance appears on the timetable, as the Ministry requires, but throughout the whole period under review it has had to compete against the examinable primary subjects. Indeed, it has been difficult in several cases for productive labour to appear as genuine shared activity rather than a further imposition from the headmaster and the school authorities. Frequently also, productive labour has not spilled over into the community, as in the original conception, but has remained as one of the subjects schools do because it is on the syllabus. In Nyerere's words, 'few schools - - if any - can really claim their production makes any large contribution even to their own upkeep, much less to the society in general'.[7]

The tendency therefore, at the primary level, has been for production to be school - rather than community-oriented. The intention is, of course, that school should help socialise students to being more productive in their rural communities after they finally leave their primary schools; and to this end the school entry age was raised to 7 years. Children would not then be too young to undertake adult work after Standard VII.

But it was not only a question of age which had produced the primary school leaver crisis confronting Nyerere in the mid-1960s; it was also that primary school leavers, before Nyerere's reform programme, had aspired to paid employment. A main component of the last seven or eight years accordingly has been the insistence on changing student aspirations from regular paid jobs to ordinary intelligent work in the rural areas and towns. It is difficult to estimate the impact on students of this long campaign to assert that primary education is terminal and is a 'preparation for life

and work' amongst peasant communities. There has certainly been less and less chance to imagine that paid employment could be gained by getting access to secondary education, since secondary expansion has been throttled right back during this period of reform. In fact less than a thousand new places were created at Form I (secondary) level from 1968 to 1973, even though the top class of primary school had grown from 50,000 to more than 100,000. This was quite in line with Tanzania's priorities to offer primary education to as many as possible, and yet it raises an interesting point of comparison with Kenya's development at the same level.

In Kenya, the assumption that primary education is for jobs through secondary entrance has produced a much larger group of primary school leavers than Tanzania. But the very scale of the expansion has also meant that primary students who fail to enter secondary no longer expect jobs, but seem readily to embrace work of any description. There is certainly no rhetoric about terminal primary in Kenya, but equally there is no evidence in 1974 of a primary school leaver problem, if by that we mean people standing around refusing to work while they wait for 'real' jobs.

In Tanzania, by contrast, the gospel that primary education is for work has possibly not been any more effective in its practical outcome than its opposite in Kenya. We lack, however, any first-hand information on what the first cohort to leave Tanzania's reformed primary schools are actually doing since they left in 1973.

Before we leave the primary sector, it should be noted that it is difficult for the concept of the terminal primary to co-exist with a national selective examination for entrance to secondary schools. Only now in 1975 does it look as if, for the first time, the national examination in Tanzania will be replaced by some form of local continuous assessment. And it is not yet clear whether this will allow the system to reward students who have perhaps done conspicious work in local literacy campaigns as much as those with more traditional academic achievement.

There is one further development at the primary level that may well repay attention. By an interesting coincidence Tanzania's work-oriented terminal primary is in 1975 theoretically directly in accord with the World Bank's newly announced priorities for education in the poorer countries of the world.[8] This would not have been the case when Nyerere first launched his programme, but now the Bank is committed to encouraging projects and systems that seem concerned with mass participation in basic education, in preference to the further production of higher level manpower. As Tanzania is one of the very few countries whose primary education is quite explicitly involved with equity, poverty and rural skill formation, and is not merely an antechamber to the secondary school, it stands to gain some considerable backing from abroad. In the first instance, the concept of a 'community education centre' will be tried out. This will develop the original idea of the self-reliant village school into a centre where health care, adult education, day care, practical training and other services will all be integrated. The germ of this conception was perhaps already there in as much as most primary schools did some adult literacy work in the afternoons, but with the new centres costed at almost one million shillings each (at 1973 prices), it would seem possible that the whole notion of financial self-reliance at the local level would have to be radically reconsidered.

EDUCATION AND WORK: THE SECONDARY LEVEL

If the issue of relating education to work at the primary level appears

problematical it is possibly even more so at the secondary stage of education. Again, it is important to bear in mind the essential difference between the secondary school in most anglophone African countries and the systems familiar to us in Britain, France or Germany. The significant factor in Europe, despite various moves towards democratisation, is what type of secondary school you are in; whereas in the East African states, the question is whether you reached secondary school at all. Because access to secondary schools is protected by savage selection and more or less severe fees, their inhabitants are inevitably set apart as a race, even though there appear to be some nominal differences in classification derived from the metropolis. The physical environment of most secondary schools in Kenya and Tanzania confirms this separateness. Unlike the village primary school which is in a very real sense a community project, the typical secondary is still residential and hence enormously more expensive both to government and parents. With its own compound fenced off from the neighbourhood, its staff houses and a foreign language used as the medium of most instruction, the secondary school is its own community, and does not relate to any outside. A good deal therefore of what may be taught about relevance in such schools gets affected by the fact that the audience view themselves as a future elite. Paradoxically, secondary school students in Tanzania who are a tiny 7% of their primary cohort may even be more tempted to regard themselves as special than the 15 to 20% who eventually reach some secondary school in non-socialist Kenya.

The fact of this rigorous selection has considerable significance for programmes of a pre-vocational sort, which at this point look like spreading across the secondary schools of both countries. Indeed, policy makers would do well to notice what happened in a similar situation in the late colonial period in these states. At that time, the four years of upper primary were protected by a rather ruthless selective examination which removed 70 to 80% of the Standard IV cohort. The fortunate few who proceeded to upper primary were given some very thorough pre-vocational training along with academic work for four years. The technical work was well thought out frequently inspected and finally examined, but when all was said and done it had very little impact upon student occupations: the students exposed to this technical training had been so rigidly selected, they could almost always get the better paid clerical positions without needing to practise in employment what they had been compelled to learn at school.

With the coming of Independence, both Tanzania and Kenya promptly dropped practical studies in the primary school (although Tanzania decided, as we have seen, to reintroduce them once more in 1967-8). And at the secondary level, initially, technical studies were only available in a very small number of trade/vocational/technical schools (the name kept changing). A good deal has been written elsewhere about the peculiar form of technical schools in such countries as Kenya;[9] it is important for our present purpose merely to note that their students had always aimed at the relative security of positions in the Ministry of Works or the subsidiaries of international firms. There was almost no contact with the multitude of smaller enterprises who preferred to employ workers who had learnt on the job, rather than through a formal institutional setting. In a word such schools concentrated on preparing students for 'jobs' rather than 'work', in the sense we have loosely used these terms. And it is for this reason that the numbers of technical or trade schools have been so few compared with their general academic counterparts. For instance, from Tanzania's

two technical schools the annual output is about 120 over against the 7,000 odd who complete Form IV at the general secondary schools, whereas in Kenya only 8 of the approximately 800 secondary schools specialise in technical training. These small numbers reflect rather accurately the pattern of industrialisation in a number of African countries, and particularly the very limited openings for formally trained skilled manpower.

Indeed, it could be said that unlike general secondary schools whose continued expansion in Kenya bore very little relation to available jobs, the technical school sector did seem to be aware of market forces. In fact there has been rather a long tradition of technical education being very closely tied to employment. During the colonial period, this was achieved by a process of the schools actually indenturing their students, but more recently in the independence period, it has only been possible to get entry to a formal government apprenticeship scheme by having first attended one of the handful of technical schools.

The issue of apprenticeship highlights the difference between industry and training in the developing countries and the rather elaborate schemes that operate in, say, the European countries. Admittedly, on paper, Kenya appears to have similar legislation to Britain in this matter, with an Industrial Training Act, a levy-grant scheme to encourage employers to train, and a three year craft apprenticeship period after secondary school. But although this combination of technical schools and formal industry-based training is designed to produce Kenya's skilled journeymen, <u>in practice</u> it does not produce the British style tradesman who might remain a plumber, carpenter or auto mechanic for most of his life. In fact, the bulk of Kenya's skilled craftsmen are produced quite outside the apparatus of technical schools and formal apprenticeship systems. Meanwhile, the products of this formal government system get protected access to the few larger firms, where they aspire naturally to supervisory rather than skilled manual positions. In reality, the whole scheme illustrates very clearly the way in which an educational export from the metropolis can work out in practice directly contrary to expectations. And it is not perhaps surprising to learn that primary school leavers are very anxious to attend these rather unusual technical schools.

In the ordinary secondary school sector also, there have recently been moves in both countries to relate the otherwise academic syllabus to more practical studies. This diversification of general secondary schools has been supported by the World Bank in more than twenty developing countries in recent years, and has usually been designed to offer insights into materials and processes used in business, industry and agriculture, rather than being narrowly vocational. Two different emphases in such diversified secondary schools seem to be becoming apparent in Kenya and Tanzania.

At the moment, the two to three dozen schools equipped with some practical wing or workshop in Kenya seem to regard their role as offering a preliminary exploration of the world of work. The stated objectives of 'Industrial Education' mention such phrases as 'to develop an insight and an understanding of industry', 'to develop problem-solving abilities related to the materials and process of industry...', 'to develop in each student a skill in the use and care of tools and machines', etc. etc. But as the exposure to this practical work is only six periods a week, and may only result in a single subject being examined at Form IV, it is difficult to gauge its impact upon the students when they finally leave school. It

was not of course intended that there should be any direct correlation between this type of education and their final job. On the other hand practical subjects are much more expensive to offer than traditional courses, and there is consequently a tendency for a poorer country to be more concerned about the future careers of those who used the practical workshops than might be the case in the technical wing of a British comprehensive. It might well appear to some in Kenya that their diversified secondary institutions fall between two schools - they have much of the expense of full technical streams without the advantage of some vocational outcome. And, as we shall note in a moment, popular interest in Kenya is increasingly bypassing these exploratory 'industrial' classes in favour of some more explicitly job-oriented provision.

Tanzania has for some years had a few diversified secondary schools, with a slight bias towards 'industrial arts' of agriculture, and it is interesting to see that they are already moving away from the exploratory or introductory concept towards an emphasis on skill acquisition and productivity:

> The aim is not only to give them such skills as would help secondary school leavers to find useful occupations on completing their formal education but also to make them productive even while in school. They are expected to learn as they produce and produce as they learn .... A secondary school leaver going back to his village or joining a ujamaa (co-operative) village should be of immediate use...[10]

By early 1971 it had been decided that all secondary schools in Tanzania should be redesignated in accordance with a particular practical scheme of work: agricultural, technical, commercial or domestic science, and although it is not clear how this will work out in practice, it has been suggested that from a third to a half of the time available will be devoted to the vocational bias. It will be remembered that the secondary school cadres in Tanzania are already a very small percentage of those who finish primary, and may not therefore need to practise their special skills any more than their select predecessors in the colonial primary. Even if this is so, they look like being made a good deal more productive than their neighbours in Kenya. Nor is this new emphasis on production merely for the students' adjustment to work. Given Tanzania's increasingly straitened circumstances in the early 1970s, it was important on economic grounds that students at the secondary level stopped living off society. Indeed in November 1974, the Ministry of National Education issued a directive that the cultivation of a certain minimum acreage of land was compulsory for all students at the secondary, teacher training and university levels.

In these kinds of ways the elite status of Tanzanian students will to some extent be counterbalanced by their involvement in productive labour. In fact, it looks as if from 1975 the higher education of secondary students will begin to be conditional upon a satisfactory period of initial employment. Having gained matriculation, no student will go direct to university without having first had his educational qualifications confirmed by perhaps a year of work. It is too early to be sure what role the local community may begin to play in approving and selecting students to carry on with academic studies, but for work to be an effective selector, there would need to be a good deal more decentralisation of decision making than is presently the case in Tanzania.

EDUCATION, TRAINING AND WORK: MYTHOLOGY AND REALITY

Having sketched in the somewhat divergent patterns of education and work at the primary and secondary levels, it may be useful to discuss, before closing, some of the popular perceptions of the relation of employment to education, and to mention some of the attempts in Kenya to manipulate the labour market by institution building.

In the early years of political Independence, many communities in Kenya acted on the assumption that the provision of more secondary school places in their area would somehow of its own produce more jobs - this was part of a more general belief that educated manpower almost meant economic development. Accordingly, with considerable sacrifice, schools were constructed all over the country, only to find that by the time the first cohorts were leaving these new schools in 1968 and 1969, the old connection between secondary education and real jobs had been severed once and for all. The relationship only held for those who distinguished themselves in their school certificate. Faced with the rapid devaluation of school certificate (which Tanzania had avoided through its much more severe secondary selection), many of the less talented school leavers were faced with a dilemma. After frequent applications to employers, they realised that they could not get a job now without experience, and they could not get experience without a job. Even if they had done a few periods of 'industrial arts' in a diversified secondary school, this did not constitute relevant experience.

Many thousands of such students began then to take advantage of whatever practical training was provided in what can be called the back-street education sector. Here courses are offered which promise a vast array of skills that schools had not provided: accountancy, salesmanship, driving, radio repair, automechanic, surveying, etc., etc. The sector has almost disappeared from the back streets of Europe, or been swallowed up in local authority and further education classes. But in many Third World countries this private venture world is thriving, and feeds directly on the apparent irrelevance to employment of the ordinary school certificate. Despite considerable variation in standards, it is sufficiently flexible and cheap to attract students. In fact many students take a succession of these practical courses in an attempt to compensate for lack of experience. It is worth pointing out that circulating a series of these back street 'colleges' in search of even a <u>single</u> job is the nearest many Africans come to the elaborate schemes of life-long learning and continual re-training that are so fashionable in Western educational planning.

Perhaps even more dramatic than the growth of this private venture training has been the enormous community interest since 1971 in providing post-secondary colleges of practical studies. Kenya had already surpassed many African countries by the extent its various communities had been prepared to raise funds through self help at the secondary school level. But when that effort had apparently failed to deliver sufficient employment, campaigns to raise self-help funds for technical colleges were launched on a scale quite unprecedented in the history of African education. At the time of writing only two of the projected fourteen colleges have become operational, and several others are at an advanced stage of planning. Nevertheless, the level of fund raising so far has already been sufficient testimony to the new optimism about a link between technical studies and employment. Thus, even if an ordinary pass at academic school certificate has apparently lost its market value, it is now very widely believed that

this same devaluation cannot affect the technical graduate. He is thought to be doubly safe from the dangers of unemployment: (a) technicians are felt (on rather slender evidence) to be in short supply and (b) they can always go into business on their own account, if nobody is willing to employ them.

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It is too early in both Kenya and Tanzania to be clear how some of these most recent innovations will work out in practice. It is however worth ending with a series of propositions about the relationship of education to skilled employment in such Third World countries as these.

1. Only a small number of multinational firms, parastatals and government concerns are interested at the moment in recruiting students with formal pre-vocational training. Technical studies in schools are, however, predicated upon the needs, the technology and the wages offered in just such concerns. Unlike Britain, the students therefore who take technical subjects in schools do not regard themselves as inferior to academic pupils, since the latter are also aiming at this very limited sector of the economy.

2. The majority of skilled craftsmen are created quite outside the formal school and post-school training system, by methods which are cheap and relatively effective. As a result, even though the handful of technical schools in Kenya and Tanzania appear to be training skilled tradesmen, they tend to produce technical graduates whose aspirations are to supervisory and foreman positions.

3. Even if the majority of skilled workers were produced in some more formal way, it would continue to be true that students who received their training through the medium of highly selective secondary schools would have very high aspirations towards their future work.

4. Despite some basic similarity in industrial infrastructure, Kenya and Tanzania have begun to diverge rather markedly in their attitudes to training and employment.

In Kenya, the enormous fascination with technical and technological education has been sparked by the determination to use such training to acquire or produce well-paid jobs in the modern sector of the economy. In Tanzania, the government have been trying to use the education system (and particularly the vocational part of it) to swing students' attention away from jobs towards work. In their different ways, therefore, both these governments and their peoples place great faith in the capacity of the educational system to manoeuvre students towards the national goals.

5. External observers are frequently critical of how tightly the education system is welded to the small (paid) job market in Third World countries, and how, as a consequence, the school certification required to gain quite an ordinary job is constantly being raised. Commentators often suggest a variety of manoeuvres which they hope might sever what they believe is a pernicious and dysfunctional connection between school credentials and jobs. In time, such recommendations might soften some of the impact of jobs on schools, but short of fundamental structural changes in the economy, no amount of mere manipulation can alter rapidly the equation between education and work as it appears in the developing world and that pertaining in the industrialised economies of Europe.

Notes and References

1 Outside the paid jobs enumerated in official government statistics, there is also a good deal of paid work in small scale agriculture and petty industry; the latter category is however poorly remunerated, often casual, and is not considered on a par with opportunities for paid employment in the 'modern' sector of the economy.

2 See further, K. King, 'Primary Schools in Kenya', in D. Court and D. Ghai (eds.), Education, Society and Development. New Perspectives from Kenya (Oxford University Press, Nairobi, 1974), pp. 123-147.

3 National Christian Council of Kenya, After School What? (Nairobi, 1967, mimeo). Also, J. Sheffield (ed.), Education, Employment and Rural Development (East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1967).

4 For the role of vocational skills in primary school, see K. King, African Artisan (Centre of African Studies, Edinburgh University, 1975, mimeo).

5 J. Nyerere, 'Education for Self-reliance' in I.N. Resnick (ed.), Tanzania: Revolution by Education (Longman, Arusha, 1968), pp. 49-70.

6 J. Nyerere, Speech to the Dag Hammarskjold Seminar on Education in Dar es Salaam, 20 May 1974, reproduced in UNESCO/UNICEF, Seminar on 'Basic Education in Eastern Africa', 19-23 August 1974, Nairobi (mimeo), p. 1.

7 Ibid., p. 8.

8 World Bank, Education: Sector Working Paper (Washington, December 1974) passim.

9 King, African Artisan, op. cit.

10 Directorate of Planning and Development, Ministry of National Education, Diversification/Vocationalization of Secondary Education (Dar es Salaam, mimeo, July 1971). Although all schools were assigned a specific bias in 1971, this is only being implemented as finance is available.

V LIST OF PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE CONFERENCE

Agoston, G.	Ecole et Communauté en Hongrie.
Anweiler, O.	Local, Regional and National Participation in Educational Policy Decision-making and School Administration.
Baumert, J. and Raschert, J.	The Preparation of Middle Grade Centres in Berlin by Teacher Participation in Training and Curriculum Development: Participation Strategies in Curricular Revision and Some Administrative Problems.
Benavent, J.	The Role of the Family in Spanish Schools.
Borghi, L.	The Community as Educator: the Italian Case.
Brock, C.	The Geography of Education: Aspects of the Emergence of a Sub-Discipline.
Claustre, H.	Le Projet Pédagogique de la Villeneuve de Grenoble.
Edwards, R.	Community Pressures and the Demise of an Educational Institution: The Case of the Colleges Classiques in Quebec.
Glowka, D.	Models of Participation in the School System of the Federal Republic of Germany.
Goldschmidt, D.	Participatory Democracy in Schools and Higher Education: Emerging Problems in the Federal Republic of Germany and Sweden.
Grant, N.	School and Work.
Gruber, K.	Participation in Educational Decision-making in Austria.
Haga, M.	Radical Changes of Community and Education in Japan.
Halsall, E.	The Community School in Britain.
Higginson, J.H.	Building Bridges between School and Community.
Holmes, B.	School and Community: Opening Address.
Isambert-Jamati, V.	
Jackson, R.	A Strategy for Adult Education.
King, K.	Education Work and the Community in East Africa.
Lalloz, M.	L'Utilisation de la Télévision Cablée dans la Ville Nouvelle de Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines.
Lawson, R.	Education in the Canadian Community.
Mowatt, S.	The Challenge of School and Community and Whether or Not to Accept It.
Peters, J.	Parent Participation in Dutch Primary Schools.
Philps, R.	School-Community Involvement and the Australian Teacher.

Raggatt, P.	Participants in Educational Policy Making: Some Aspects of Legitimacy.
	School and Work: Some Ideological Considerations.
Ruocco, M.	Influenza delle Nuove Forme di Partecipatione alla della Scuola sulla Vita Familiare in Italia.
Ryba, R.	School and Community: Concepts of Territory and their Implications.
Sutherland, M.	School and Work: The Problem as it Affects Girls.
Springer, U.	Problems of Teacher Participation in the State of New York.
Tassinari, G.	Participation in Educational Policy and Administration in Italy.
Thomas, H.	Participation of Teachers in the Revision of Curricula.
Thomson, C.	Community Involvement in Educational Goals: A Western Canadian Example.
Wagner, K.	Education and Work: Reforms in Danish Vocational Training.
Wiloch, T.	The Polish Concept of the Community School.